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AN ENQUIRY INTO THE ORIGIN OF HONOUR, AND *The Usefulness of* CHRISTIANITY IN *WAR.*

By the Author of the FABLE *of the* BEES.

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THE

PREFACE.

I Take it for granted, that a Chriſtian is not bound to believe any Thing to have been of Divine Inſtitution, that has not been declared to be ſuch in Holy Writ. Yet great Offence has been taken at an Eſſay, in the Firſt Part of the Fable of the *Bees*, call'd An Enquiry into the Origin of Moral Virtue; notwithſtanding the great Caution it is wrote with. Since then, it is thought Criminal to ſurmiſe, that even Heathen Virtue was of Human Invention, and the Reader, in the following Dialogues, will find me to perſiſt in the Opinion, that it was; I beg his Patience to peruſe what I have to ſay for my ſelf on this Head, which is all I ſhall trouble him with here.

The Word *Morality* is either ſynonimous with Virtue, or ſignifies that Part of Philoſophy, which treats of it, and teaches the Regulation of Manners; and by the Words Moral Virtue, I mean the ſame Thing which I believe Every body elſe does. I am likewiſe fully perſuaded, that to govern our ſelves according to the Dictates of Reaſon, is far better than to indulge the Paſſions without Stop or Controul, and conſequently that Virtue is more beneficial than Vice, not only for the Peace and real Happineſs of Society in general, but likewiſe for the Temporal Felicity of every individual Member of it, abſtract from the Conſideration of a future State. I am moreover convinced, that all wiſe Men ever were and ever will be of this Opinion; and I ſhall never oppoſe Any body, who ſhall be pleaſed to call this an Eternal Truth.

Having allow'd and own'd thus much, I beg Leave to make a ſhort Grammatical Reflection on the Sounds or Letters we make uſe of to expreſs this rational Management of ourſelves: For, tho' the Truth of its Excellency is Eternal, the Words *Moral Virtue* themſelves are not ſo, any more than Speech or Man himſelf. Permit me therefore to enquire

which Way it is moſt probable, they muſt have come into the World.

The Word *Moral*, without Doubt, comes from *Mos*, and ſignifies every Thing that relates to Manners: The Word *Ethick* is ſynonimous with *Moral*, and is derived from ἔθος, which is exactly the ſame in *Greek*, that *Mos* is in *Latin*. The *Greek* for Virtue, is ἀρετὴ, which is derived from Ἄρης, the God of War, and properly ſignifies Martial Virtue. The ſame Word in *Latin*, if we believe *Cicero*, comes from *Vir*; and the genuine Signification likewiſe of the Word *Virtus* is Fortitude. It is hardly to be conceived, but that in the firſt Forming of all Societies, there muſt have been Struggles for Superiority; and therefore it is reaſonable to imagine, that in all the Beginnings of Civil Government, and the Infancy of Nations, Strength and Courage muſt have been the moſt valuable Qualifications for ſome Time. This makes me think, that *Virtus*, in its firſt Acceptation, might, with great Juſtice and Propriety, be in *Engliſh* render'd *Manlineſs*; which fully expreſſes the Original Meaning of it, and ſhews the Etymology equally with the *Latin*; and whoever is acquainted with that Language muſt know, that it was ſome Ages be-

fore the *Romans* uſed it in any other Senſe: Nay, to this Day, the Word *Virtus* by it ſelf, in any of their Hiſtorians, has the ſame Signification, as if the Word *Bellica* had been added. We have Reaſon to think, that, at Firſt, Nothing was meant by *Virtus*, but Daring and Intrepidity, right or wrong; or elſe it could never have been made to ſignify Savageneſs, and brutiſh Courage; as *Tacitus*, in the Fourth Book of his Hiſtory, makes uſe of it manifeſtly in that Senſe. Even Wild Beaſts, ſays he, if you keep them ſhut up, will loſe their Fierceneſs. *Etiam fera animalia, ſi clauſa teneas, virtutis obliviſcuntur.*

What the Great Men of *Rome* valued themſelves upon was active and paſſive Bravery, Warlike Virtue, which is ſo ſtrongly expreſs'd in the Words of Livy: *Et facere & pati fortia Romanum eſt.* But beſides the Conſideration of the great Service, all Warriours receive from this Virtue, there is a very good Reaſon in the Nature of the Thing it ſelf, why it ſhould be in far higher Eſteem than any other. The Paſſion it has to ſtruggle with, is the moſt violent and ſtubborn, and conſequently the hardeſt to be conquer'd, the Fear of Death: The leaſt Conflict with it is harſh Work, and a difficult Task; and it is in

Regard

Regard to this, that *Cicero*, in his *Offices*, calls Modeſty, Juſtice and Temperance, the ſofter and eaſier Virtues. *Qui virtutibus his lenioribus erit ornatus, modeſtia, juſtitia temperantia*, &c. Juſtice and Temperance require Profeſſors as grave and ſolemn, and demand as much Strictneſs and Obſervance as any other Virtues. Why *lenioribus* then; but that they are more mild and gentle in the Reſtraint they lay upon our Inclinations, and that the Self-denial they require is more practicable and leſs mortifying than that of Virtue itſelf, as it is taken in its proper and genuine Senſe? To be Juſt or Temperate, we have Temptations to encounter, and Difficulties to ſurmount, that are troubleſome: But the Efforts we are oblig'd to make upon our ſelves to be truly Valiant are infinitely greater; and, in order to it, we are overcome the Firſt, the ſtrongeſt and moſt laſting Paſſion, that has been implanted in us; for tho' we may hate and have Averſion to many Things by Inſtinct, yet there is Nothing ſo generally terrible, and ſo generally dreadful to all Creatures, rational or not rational, as the Diſſolution of their Being.

Upon due Conſideration of what has been ſaid, it will be eaſy to imagine, how and why,

ſoon after Fortitude had been honoured with the Name of Virtue, all the other Branches of Conqueſt over our ſelves were dignify'd with the ſame Title. We may ſee in it likewiſe the Reaſon of what I have always ſo ſtrenuouſly inſiſted upon, *viz.* That no Practice, no Action or good Quality, how uſeful or beneficial ſoever they may be in themſelves, can ever deſerve the Name of Virtue, ſtrictly ſpeaking, where there is not a palpable Self-denial to be ſeen. In Tract of Time, the Senſe of the Word *Virtus* received ſtill a greater Latitude; and it ſignify'd Worth, Strength, Authority, and Goodneſs of all Kinds: *Plautus* makes uſe of it, for Aſſiſtance. *Virtute Deûm*, by the Help of the Gods. By Degrees it was applied not only to Brutes, *Eſt in juvencis, eſt in equis patrum Virtus*, but likewiſe to Things inanimate; and was made Uſe of to expreſs the Power, and peculiar Qualities of Vegetables and Minerals of all Sorts, as it continues to be to this Day: The Virtue of the Loadſtone, the Virtue of Opium, *&c.* It is highly probable, that the Word *Moral*, either in *Greek* or *Latin*, never was thought of before the Signification of the Word *Virtue* had been extended ſo far beyond its Original; and then in ſpeaking of the

Virtues

Virtues of our Species, the Addition of that Epithet became neceſſary, to denote the Relation they had to our Manners, and diſtinguiſh them from the Properties and Efficacy of Plants, Stones, *&c.* which were likewiſe call'd *Virtues.*

If I am wrong, I ſhall be glad to ſee a better Account, how this Adjective and Subſtantive came to be join'd together. In the mean Time, I am very ſure, that there is Nothing ſtrain'd or forc'd in my Suppoſition. That the Words, in Tract of Time, are be come of greater Importance, I don't deny. The Words *Clown* and *Villain* have opprobrious Meanings annex'd to them, that were never implied in *Colonus* and *Villanus*, from which they were undoubtedly derived. *Moral*, for ought I know, may now ſignify *Virtue*, in the ſame Manner and for the ſame Reaſon, that *Panic* ſignifies *Fear.*

That this Conjecture or Opinion of mine, ſhould be detracting from the Dignity of *Moral Virtue*, or have a Tendency to bring it into Diſrepute, I can not ſee. I have already own'd, that it ever was and ever will be preferable to Vice, in the Opinion of all wiſe Men. But to call Virtue it ſelf Eternal, can not be done without a ſtrangely Figurative Way

of

of Speaking. There is no Doubt, but all Mathematical Truths are Eternal, yet they are taught; and ſome of them are very abſtruſe, and the Knowledge of them never was acquir'd without great Labour and Depth of Thought. *Euclid* had his Merit; and it does not appear that the Doctrine of the *Fluxions* was known before Sir *Iſaac Newton* diſcover'd that conciſe Way of Computation; and it is not impoſſible that there ſhould be another Method, as yet unknown, ſtill more compendious, that may not be found out theſe Thouſand Years.

All Propoſitions, not confin'd to Time or Place, that are once true, muſt be always ſo; even in the ſillieſt and moſt abject Things in the World; as for Example, It is wrong to under-roaſt Mutton for People who love to have their Meat well done. The Truth of this, which is the moſt trifling Thing I can readily think on, is as much Eternal, as that of the Sublimeſt Virtue. If you aſk me, where this Truth was, before there was Mutton, or People to dreſs or eat it, I anſwer, in the ſame Place where Chaſtity was, before there were any Creatures that had an Appetite to procreate their Species. This puts me in Mind of the inconſiderate Zeal of ſome Men, who, even in Metaphy-

Metaphyſicks, know not how to think abſtractly, and cannot forbear mixing their own Meanneſs and Imbecillities, with the Idea's they form of the Supreme Being.

There is no Virtue that has a Name, but it curbs, regulates, or ſubdues ſome Paſſion that is peculiar to Humane Nature; and therefore to ſay, that God has all the Virtues in the higheſt Perfection, wants as much the Apology, that it is an Expreſſion accommodated to vulgar Capacities, as that he has Hands and Feet, and is angry. For as God has not a Body, nor any Thing that is Corporeal belonging to his Eſſence, ſo he is entirely free from Paſſions and Frailties. With what Propriety then can we attribute any Thing to him that was invented, or at leaſt ſignifies a Strength or Ability to conquer or govern Paſſions and Frailties? The Holineſs of God, and all his Perfections, as well as the Beatitude he exiſts in, belong to his Nature; and there is no Virtue but what is acquired. It ſignifies Nothing to add, that God has thoſe Virtues in the higheſt Perfection; let them be what they will, as to Perfection, they muſt ſtill be Virtues; which, for the aforeſaid Reaſons, it is impertinent to aſcribe to the Deity. Our Thoughts of God

ſhould

ſhould be as worthy of him as we are able to frame them; and as they can not be adequate to his Greatneſs, ſo they ought at leaſt to be abſtract from every Thing that does or can belong to ſilly, reptile Man: And it is ſufficient, whenever we venture to ſpeak of a Subject ſo immenſly far beyond our Reach, to ſay, that there is a perfect and compleat Goodneſs in the Divine Nature, infinitely ſurpaſſing not only the higheſt Perfection, which the moſt virtuous Men can arrive at, but likewiſe every Thing that Mortals can conceive about it.

I recommend the fore-going Paragraph to the Conſideration of the Advocates for the Eternity and Divine Original of Virtue; aſſuring them, that, if I am miſtaken, it is not owing to any Perverſeneſs of my Will, but Want of Underſtanding.

The Opinion, that there can be no Virtue without Self-denial, is more advantagious to Society than the contrary Doctrine, which is a vaſt Inlet to Hypocriſy, as I have ſhewn at large †: Yet I am willing to allow, that Men may contract a Habit of Virtue, ſo as to practiſe it, without being ſenſible of Self-denial, and

† Fable of the *Bees*. p. 11. P. 106.

even

even that they may take Pleaſure in Actions that would be impracticable to the Vicious: But then it is manifeſt, that this Habit is the Work of Art, Education and Cuſtom; and it never was acquired, where the Conqueſt over the Paſſions had not been already made. There is no Virtuous Man of Forty Years, but he may remember the Conflict he had with ſome Appetites before he was Twenty. How natural ſeem all Civilities to be to a Gentleman! Yet Time was, that he would not have made his Bow, if he had not been bid.

Whoever has read the Second Part of the Fable of the *Bees*, will ſee, that in theſe Dialogues I make Uſe of the ſame Perſons, who are the Interlocutors there, and whoſe Characters have been already drawn in the Preface of that Book.

THE

CONTENTS

OF THE

Firſt Dialogue.

HONOUR is built upon a Paſſion in Human Nature, for which there is no Name p. 2

The Author's Reaſons for Coining the Word Self-liking 3, to 6

How the Paſſion of Self-liking is diſcovered in Infants 7

A Definition of Honour, and what it is in Subſtance 8, 9

The Author's Opinion illuſtrated by what we know of Diſhonour or Shame 10

The different Symptoms of Pride and Shame in the Mechaniſm of Man 11

Are both the Reſult of the ſame Paſſion 12, 13

The Word Honour, as it ſignifies a Principle of Courage

The CONTENTS.

Courage and Virtue, is of Gothick Extraction 14, 15
All Societies of Men are perpetually in Queſt after Happineſs 16
The true Reaſon, why no Nations can be govern'd without Religion, enquired into 17, to 22
Why no one Sort or Degree of Idolatry can be more or leſs abſurd than another 23
For what Purpoſes all Religions may be equally ſerviceable 24
All Men are born with the Fear of an inviſible Cauſe 25
The Uſefulneſs of that Fear, as to Religion 26
The Impoſſibility of making Atheiſm *univerſally received* 27
Religion no Invention of Politicians 28
The Benefit expected from the Notions of Honour 30
The Reaſonableneſs of Mens Actions examined 31, 32
How the Strictneſs of the Goſpel came to be firſt diſapproved of, and the Conſequence 33, 34
How Mens Actions may be inconſiſtent with their Belief 35, &c.
That many bad Chriſtians were yet kept in Awe by the Fear of Shame, gave the firſt Handle to the Invention of Honour as a Principle 39, 40
What it is we are afraid of in the Fear of Shame 41, 42
Why the Principle of Honour has been of more Uſe to Society than that of Virtue 43, 44

The

The Principle of Honour, clashing with Christianity 45
Reasons why the Church of Rome *endeavour'd to reconcile them* 46, 47
The real Design of Legends *and* Romances 48
The Stratagems of the Church of Rome *to enslave the Laity* 49, 50
What gave Rise to the Custom of Duelling 51, 52

The Contents of the Second Dialogue.

Of the Principle of Honour in the fair Sex 53, &c.
The Motives of Women who turn Nuns, seldom Religious 56, 57
Which is most serviceable to the Preservation of Chastity in Women, Religion, or Self-liking 58, 59
How the Notions concerning the Principle of Honour came to be commonly received 60
The Qualifications thought Necessary in a Man of Honour 61, 62
But Courage alone is sufficient to obtain the Title 63
When the Fashion of Duelling was at its greatest Height 64
Courts of Honour erected in France 65
Laws of Honour made by them to prevent Duelling 66, &c.
Why those Laws were the Reverse of all others 69

The

The CONTENTS.

The Laws of Honour introduced as ſpeaking 71, 72
The Effect ſuch Laws muſt have on human Nature 73, &c.
The Arguments a true Chriſtian would make uſe of to diſſuade Men from Duelling 76, &c.
The Reaſons why Men are deſpiſed who take Affronts without reſenting them 79, 80
No Scarcity of Believers in Chriſt 81
The Principle of Honour contrary to Chriſtianity 82, 83
Why the Principle of Honour is of greater Efficacy upon many than Religion 84, 85
How Men may adore themſelves 86, 87
Equivalents for Swearing 88
A ludicrous Propoſal of Horatio *upon the Suppoſition, that Honour is an Idol* 89
A Paſſage in the Fable of the Bees *defended* 90
Satyr as little to be depended upon as Panegyrick 91
Whatever belongs to Honour or Shame, has its Foundation in the Paſſion of Self-liking 92
The Church of Rome's *Cunning in conſulting and humouring Human Nature* 93, 94
Heraldry of great Influence on the Paſſion of Self-liking 95
Of Canonizations of Saints, and the different Purpoſes they ſerve 96, 97
The Want of Foreſight in the firſt Reformers 98, 99
The worldly Wiſdom of the Church of Rome 100

Her owning the Self-denial required in the Goſpel in a literal Senſe 101
The great Uſe ſhe has made of it ibid. 102
The Analogy between the Popiſh Religion and a Manufacture 103
The Danger there is in explaining away the Self-denial of the Goſpel ibid. 104
How the Self-denial of ſome may ſeem to be of uſe to others that practiſe none 105, 106
Eaſy Caſuiſts can only ſatisfy the Beau Monde 107, 108
Jeſuits don't explain away Self-denial in General 109
What Sort of Preachers will ſooneſt gain Credit among the Multitude 110
Men may eaſily be taught to believe what is not claſhing with received Opinions 111
The Force of Education, as to Self-denial 112
The Advantage the Church of Rome *has made from vulgar Notions* 113, 114
Divines, who appeal to Men's Reaſon, ought to behave differently from thoſe who teach implicite Faith. 115, 116
Why the Luxury of a Popiſh Clergy gives leſs Offence to the Laity, than that of Proteſtants 117, &c.
What the Church of Rome *ſeems not to deſpair of* 120
The Politicks of Rome *more formidable than any other* 121, 122
What muſt always keep up the Popiſh Intereſt in Great-Britain 123, 124

The most probable Maxims to hinder the Growth as well of Irreligion and Impiety as of Popery and Superstition 125, 126
When the literal Sense of Words is to be prefer'd to the figurative 127
What the Reformers might have foreseen 128
What has been and ever will be the Fate of all Sects ibid. 129

The Contents of the Third Dialogue.

The Beginning of all Earthly Things was mean 131
The Reason of the high Value Men have for Things in which they have but the least Share ib. 132
Whether the best Christians make the best Soldiers 133, 134
Remarks on the Word Difference 135
An Excursion of Horatio 136, 137
Why Religious Wars are the most Cruel 138
The Pretensions of the Huguenot *Army in* France, *and that of the* Roundheads *in* England, *near the same* 139
What was answered by their Adversaries 140
What would be the natural Consequence of such Differences 141, &c.
The Effect which such a Contrariety of Interests would always have on the sober Party 144, 145
Superstition and Enthusiasm may make Men fight, but the Doctrine of Christ never can 146
What is required in a Soldier to be call'd virtuous and good 147, 148

Inſtances where debauch'd Fellows and the greateſt Rogues have fought well 149
What is connived at in Soldiers, and what not 150
Divines in Armies ſeldom rigid Caſuiſts 151
How Troops may acquire the Character of being good Chriſtians 152
Why Divines are neceſſary in Armies 153
Why the worſt Religion is more beneficial to Society than Atheiſm 154, 155
Whether Preachers of the Goſpel ever made Men fight 156, 157
The Uſe that may be made of the Old Teſtament ibid. 158
An everlaſting Maxim in Politicks 159, 160
When the Goſpel is preach'd to military Men, and when it is ſet aſide 161, 162
Whether Cromwel's *Views in promoting an outward* Shew *of Piety were Religious or Political* 163, 164
The Foundation of the Quarrels that occaſion'd the Civil War 165
How Men, who are ſincere in their Religion, may be made to act contrary to the Precept of it 166 to 170
When the Goſpel ought no longer to be appeald to ibid.
A Promiſe to prove what ſeems to be a Paradox 171
What all Prieſts have labour'd at in all Armies 172
The Sentiments that were inſtill'd into the Minds of the Roundheads 173, &c.
The Uſe which, it is probable, a crafty wicked Gene-

General would make of a Conjuncture, as here hinted at 176
How Men may be ſincere and in many Reſpects morally good, and bad Chriſtians 177, 178
How an obſcure Man might raiſe himſelf to the higheſt Poſt in an Army, and be thought a Saint tho' he was an Atheiſt 179, to 183
How wicked Men may be made uſeful Soldiers 184, 185
How the moſt obdurate Wretch might receive benefit as a Soldier from an outward Shew of Devotion in others 186 *to* 194
That Men may be ſincere Believers and yet lead wicked Lives 195
Few Men are wicked from a deſire to be ſo 196, to 197
How even bad Men may be chear'd up by Preaching 198, 199
Hypocrites to ſave an outward Appearance may be as uſeful as Men of Sincerity 200
There are two ſorts of Hypocrites very different from one another 201, 202

The Contents of the Fourth Dialogue.

An Objection of Horatio, *concerning Faſt-Days* 204, 205
What War they would be uſeful in, if duely kept 206, 207
How Chriſtianity may be made ſerviceable to Anti-Chriſtian Purpoſes 208
What is underſtood in England *by keeping a Faſt-Day* 209, 210

The CONTENTS.

The real Doctrine of Christ can give no Encouragement for Fighting 211
Instances, where Divines seem not to think themselves strictly tied to the Gospel 212, 213
The Art of Preaching in Armies 214 to 217
The Use which Politicians may make of extraordinary Days of Devotion, abstract from all Thoughts of Religion 218 to 224
The miserable Notions, which many of the Vulgar have of Religion 225
How the Remembrance of a Fast-Day may affect a Wicked Soldier 226
The Power which Preaching may have upon ignorant Well-wishers to Religion 227
The Days of Supplication among the Ancients 228
A general Shew of Religion cannot be procured at all Times 229
What Conjuncture it is only practicable in 230
A Character of Oliver Cromwell 231
A Spirit of Gentility introduced among Military Men 232
An improvement in the Art of Flattery 233
A Demonstration that what made the Men fight well in the late Wars was not their Religion 234
Why no Armies could subsist without Religion 235
A Recapitulation of what has been advanced in this and the former Dialogue 236, &c.
Horatio's *Concurrence* 239, 240

ERRATA.

Page 81. Line 6. *read* Influence. P. 94. l. 12. *r. Propræors.* P. 174. l. 3. *r.* Rites.

THE

THE

First Dialogue

BETWEEN

Horatio and *Cleomenes.*

Horatio.

I Wonder you never attempted to gueſs at the Origin of Honour, as you have done at that of Politeneſs, and your Friend in his Fable of the Bees has done at the Origin of Virtue.

Cleo. I have often thought of it, and am ſatisfied within my ſelf, that my Conjecture about it is Juſt; but there are Three ſubſtantial Reaſons, why I have hitherto kept it to my Self, and never yet mention'd to any One,

what my Sentiments are concerning the Origin of that charming Sound.

Hor. Let me hear your Reaſons however.

Cleo. The Word Honour, is uſed in ſuch different Acceptations, is now a Verb, then a Noun, ſometimes taken for the Reward of Virtue, ſometimes for a Principle that leads to Virtue, and, at others again, ſignifies Virtue it ſelf; that it would be a very hard Task to take in every Thing that belongs to it, and at the ſame Time avoid Confuſion in Treating of it. This is my Firſt Reaſon. The Second is: That to ſet forth and explain my Opinion on this Head to others with Perſpicuity, would take up ſo much Time, that few People would have Patience to hear it, or think it worth their while to beſtow ſo much Attention, as it would require, on what the greateſt Part of Mankind would think very trifling.

Hor. This Second whets my Curioſity: pray, what is your Third Reaſon?

Cleo. That the very Thing, to which, in my Opinion, Honour owes its Birth, is a Paſſion in our Nature, for which there is no Word coin'd yet, no Name that is commonly known and receiv'd in any Language.

Hor. That is very ſtrange.

Cleo.

Cleo. Yet not leſs true. Do you remember what I ſaid of Self-liking in our Third Converſation, when I ſpoke of the Origin of Politeneſs?

Hor. I do; but you know, I hate Affectation and Singularity of all Sorts. Some Men are fond of uncouth Words of their own making, when there are other Words already known, that ſound better, and would equally explain their Meaning: What you call'd then Self-liking at laſt prov'd to be Pride, you know.

Cleo. Self-liking I have call'd that great Value, which all Individuals ſet upon their own Perſons; that high Eſteem, which I take all Men to be born with for themſelves. I have proved from what is conſtantly obſerv'd in Suicide, that there is ſuch a Paſſion in Human Nature, and that it is plainly * diſtinct from Self-love. When this Self-liking is exceſſive, and ſo openly ſhewn as to give Offence to others, I know very well it is counted a Vice and call'd Pride: But when it is kept out of Sight, or is ſo well diſguis'd as not to appear in its own Colours, it has no Name, tho' Men act from that and no other Principle.

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* Fable of the Bees, part II. p. 141.

Hor. When what you call Self-liking, that juſt Eſteem which Men have naturally for themſelves, is moderate, and ſpurs them on to good Actions, it is very laudable, and is call'd the Love of Praiſe or a Deſire of the Applauſe of others. Why can't you take up with either of theſe Names?

Cleo. Becauſe I would not confound the Effect with the Cauſe. That Men are deſirous of Praiſe, and love to be applauded by others, is the Reſult, a palpable Conſequence, of that Self-liking which reigns in Human Nature, and is felt in every one's Breaſt before we have Time or Capacity to reflect and think of Any body elſe. What Moraliſts have taught us concerning the Paſſions, is very ſuperficial and defective. Their great Aim was the Publick Peace, and the Welfare of the Civil Society; to make Men governable, and unite Multitudes in one common Intereſt.

Hor. And is it poſſible that Men can have a more noble Aim in Temporals?

Cleo. I don't deny that; but as all their Labours were only tending to thoſe Purpoſes, they neglected all the reſt; and if they could but make Men uſeful to each other and eaſy to themſelves, they had no Scruple about the Means

Means they did it by, nor any Regard to Truth or the Reality of Things; as is evident from the groſs Abſurdities they have made Men ſwallow concerning their own Nature, in ſpight of what All felt within. In the Culture of Gardens, whatever comes up in the Paths is weeded out as offenſive and flung upon the Dunghill; but among the Vegetables that are all thus promiſcuouſly thrown away for Weeds, there may be many curious Plants, on the Uſe and Beauty of which a Botaniſt would read long Lectures. The Moraliſts have endeavour'd to rout Vice, and clear the Heart of all hurtful Appetites and Inclinations: We are beholden to them for this in the ſame Manner as we are to Thoſe who deſtroy Vermin, and clear the Countries of all noxious Creatures. But may not a Naturaliſt diſſect Moles, try Experiments upon them, and enquire into the Nature of their Handicraft, without Offence to the Mole-catchers, whoſe Buſineſs it is only to kill them as faſt as they can?

Hor. What Fault is it you find with the Moraliſts? I can't ſee what you drive at.

Cleo. I would ſhew you, that the Want of Accuracy in them, when they have treated of

Human Nature, makes it extremely difficult to ſpeak intelligibly of the different Faculties of our intellectual Part. Some Things are very eſſential, and yet have no Name, as I have given an Inſtance in that Eſteem which Men have naturally for themſelves, abſtract from Self-love, and which I have been forced to coin the Word Self-liking for: Others are miſcall'd and ſaid to be what they are not. So moſt of the Paſſions are counted to be Weakneſſes, and commonly call'd Frailties; whereas they are the very Powers that govern the whole Machine; and, whether they are perceived or not, determine or rather create the Will that immediately precedes every deliberate Action.

Hor. I now underſtand perfectly well what you mean by Self-liking. You are of Opinion, that we are all born with a Paſſion manifeſtly diſtinct from Self-love; that, when it is moderate and well regulated, excites in us the Love of Praiſe, and a Deſire to be applauded and thought well of by others, and ſtirs us up to good Actions: but that the ſame Paſſion, when it is exceſſive, or ill turn'd, whatever it excites in our Selves, gives Offence to others, renders us odious, and is call'd

Pride.

Pride. As there is no Word or Expreſſion that comprehends all the different Effects of this ſame Cauſe, this Paſſion, you have made one, *viz.* Self-liking, by which you mean the Paſſion in general, the whole Extent of it, whether it produces laudable Actions, and gains us Applauſe, or ſuch as we are blamed for and draw upon us the ill Will of others.

Cleo. You are extremely right; this was my Deſign in coining the Word Self-liking.

Hor. But you ſaid, that Honour owes its Birth to this Paſſion; which I don't underſtand, and wiſh you would explain to me.

Cleo. To comprehend this well, we ought to conſider, that as all Human Creatures are born with this Paſſion, ſo the Operations of it are manifeſtly obſerved in Infants, as ſoon as they begin to be conſcious and to reflect, often before they can ſpeak or go.

Hor. As how?

Cleo. If they are praiſed, or commended, tho' they don't deſerve it, and good Things are ſaid of them, tho' they are not true, we ſee, that Joy is raiſed in them, and they are pleaſed: On the Contrary, when they are reproved and blamed, tho' they know themſelves to be in Fault, and bad Things are ſaid of

them; tho' Nothing but Truth, we ſee it excites Sorrow in them and often Anger. This Paſſion of Self-liking, then, manifeſting it ſelf ſo early in all Children that are not Idiots, it is inconceivable that Men ſhould not be ſenſible, and plainly feel, that they have it long before they are grown up: And all Men feeling themſelves to be affected with it, tho' they know no Name for the Thing it ſelf, it is impoſſible, that they ſhould long converſe together in Society without finding out, not only that others are influenced with it as well as themſelves, but likewiſe which Way to pleaſe or diſpleaſe one another on Account of this Paſſion.

Hor. But what is all this to Honour?

Cleo. I'll ſhew you. When *A* performs an Action which, in the Eyes of *B*, is laudable, *B* wiſhes well to *A*; and, to ſhew him his Satisfaction, tells him, that ſuch an Action is an Honour to Him, or that He ought to be Honoured for it: By ſaying this, *B*, who knows that all Men are affected with Self-liking, intends to acquaint *A*, that he thinks him in the Right to gratify and indulge himſelf in the Paſſion of Self-liking. In this Senſe the Word Honour, whether it is uſed as a Noun

or a Verb, is always a Compliment we make to Thoſe who act, have, or are what we approve of; it is a Term of Art to expreſs our Concurrence with others, our Agreement with them in their Sentiments concerning the Eſteem and Value they have for themſelves. From what I have ſaid, it muſt follow, that the greater the Multitudes are that expreſs this Concurrence, and the more expenſive, the more operoſe, and the more humble the Demonſtrations of it are, the more openly likewiſe they are made, the longer they laſt, and the higher the Quality is of Thoſe who join and aſſiſt in this Concurrence, this Compliment; the greater, without all Diſpute, is the Honour which is done to the Perſon in whoſe Favour theſe Marks of Eſteem are diſplay'd: So that the higheſt Honour which Men can give to Mortals, whilſt alive, is in Subſtance no more, than the moſt likely and moſt effectual Means that Human Wit can invent to gratify, ſtir up, and encreaſe in Him, to whom that Honour is paid, the Paſſion of Self-liking.

Hor. I am afraid it is true.

Cleo. To render what I have advanced more conſpicuous, we need only look into the Reverſe of Honour, which is Diſhonour

or

or Shame, and we ſhall find, that this could have had no Exiſtence any more than Honour, if there had not been ſuch a Paſſion in our Nature as Self-liking. When we ſee Others commit ſuch Actions, as are vile and odious in our Opinion, we ſay, that ſuch Actions are a Shame to them, or that they ought to be aſhamed of them. By this we ſhew, that we differ from them in their Sentiments concerning the Value which we know, that they, as well as all Mankind, have for their own Perſons; and we are endeavouring to make them have an ill Opinion of themſelves, and raiſe in them that ſincere Sorrow, which always attends Man's reflecting on his own Unworthineſs. I deſire, you would mind, that the Actions which we thus condemn as vile and odious, need not to be ſo but in our own Opinion; for what I have ſaid happens among the worſt of Rogues, as well as among the better Sort of People. If one Villain ſhould neglect picking a Pocket, when he might have done it with Eaſe, another of the ſame Gang, who was near him and ſaw this, would upbraid him with it in good Earneſt, and tell him, that he ought to be aſhamed of having ſlipt ſo fair an Opportunity.

Some-

Sometimes Shame ſignifies the viſible Diſorders that are the Symptoms of this ſorrowful Reflection on our own Unworthineſs; at others, we give that Name to the Puniſhments that are inflicted to raiſe thoſe Diſorders; but the more you will examine into the Nature of either, the more you will ſee the Truth of what I have aſſerted on this Head; and all the Marks of Ignominy, that can be thought of, have a plain Tendency to mortify Pride; which, in other Words, is to diſturb, take away and extirpate every Thought of Self-liking.

Hor. The Author of the Fable of the *Bees*, I think, pretends ſomewhere to ſet down the different Symptoms of Pride and Shame.

Cleo. I believe they are faithfully copied from Nature. —— Here is the Paſſage; pray read it.

Hor. * *When a Man is overwhelm'd with Shame, he obſerves a Sinking of the Spirits; the Heart feels cold and condenſed, and the Blood flies from it to the Circumference of the Body; the Face glows; the Neck and part of the Breaſt partake of the Fire: He is heavy as Lead; the Head is hung down; and the Eyes through a*

* Fable of the Bees, Page 57.

Miſt

Mist of Confusion are fix'd on the Ground: No Injuries can move him; he is weary of his Being, and heartily wishes he could make himself invisible: But when, gratifying his Vanity, he exults in his Pride, he discovers quite contrary Symptoms; his Spirits swell and fan the Arterial Blood; a more than ordinary Warmth strengthens and dilates the Heart; the Extremities are cool; he feels Light to himself, and imagines he could tread on Air; his Head is held up; hisEyes are roll'd about with Sprightliness; he rejoices at his Being, is prone to Anger, and would be glad that all the World could take Notice of him.

Cleo. That's all.

Hor. But you see, he took Pride and Shame to be two distinct Passions; nay, in another Place he has call'd them so.

Cleo. He did; but it was an Errour, which I know he is willing to own.

Hor. What he is willing to own I don't know; but I think he is in the Right in what he says of them in his Book. The Symptoms of Pride and Shame are so vastly different, that to me it is inconceivable, they should proceed from the same Passion.

Cleo.

Cleo. Pray think again with Attention, and you'll be of my Opinion. My Friend compares the Symptoms that are obſerved in Human Creatures when they exult in their Pride, with thoſe of the Mortification they feel when they are overwhelm'd with Shame. The Symptoms, and if you will the Senſations, that are felt in the Two Caſes, are, as you ſay, vaſtly different from one another; but no Man could be affected with either, if he had not ſuch a Paſſion in his Nature, as I call Self-liking. Therefore they are different Affections of one and the ſame Paſſion, that are differently obſerved in us, according as we either enjoy Pleaſure, or are aggriev'd on Account of that Paſſion; in the ſame Manner as the moſt happy and the moſt miſerable Lovers are happy and miſerable on the Score of the ſame Paſſion. Do but compare the Pleaſure of a Man, who with an extraordinary Appetite is feaſting on what is delicious to him, to the Torment of another, who is extremely hungry, and can get Nothing to eat. No Two Things in the World can be more different, than the Pleaſure of the One is from the Torment of the other; yet Nothing is more evident, than that both

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are derived from and owing to the ſame craving Principle in our Nature, the Deſire of Food; for when this is entirely loſt, it is more vexatious to eat, than it is to let it alone, tho' the whole Body languiſhes, and we are ready to expire for Want of Suſtenance. Hitherto I have ſpoken of Honour in its firſt literal Senſe, in which it is a Technic Word in the Art of Civility, and ſignifies a Means which Men by Converſing together have found out to pleaſe and gratify one another on Account of a palpable Paſſion in our Nature, that has no Name, and which therefore I call Self-liking. In this Senſe I believe the Word Honour, both as a Verb and a Noun, to be as Ancient as the oldeſt Language. But there is another Meaning beſides, belonging to the ſame Sound; and Honour ſignifies likewiſe a Principle of Courage, Virtue, and Fidelity, which ſome Men are ſaid to act from, and to be aw'd by, as others are by Religion. In this latter Senſe, it is much more modern, and I don't believe to be met with a Thouſand Years ago in any Language.

Hor. How! Is it but within theſe Thouſand Years that there have been Men of Bravery and Virtue? Have not the *Greeks* and

Ro-

Romans had great Numbers of them? Were not the *Horatii* and *Curiatii* Men of Honour?

Cleo. They never were call'd ſo. All Ages and moſt Countries have produced Men of Virtue and Bravery; but this I do not enquire into now: What I aſſert to be modern is the Phraſe, the Term of Art; it is that which the Ancients knew Nothing of; nor can you with Ten Words, in either *Greek* or *Latin*, expreſs the entire Idea which is annex'd to the Word Honour when it ſignifies a Principle. To be a Man of Honour, it is not ſufficient, that he, who aſſumes that Title, is brave in War, and dares to fight againſt the Enemies of his Country; but he muſt likewiſe be ready to engage in private Quarrels, tho' the Laws of God and his Country forbid it. He muſt bear no Affront without reſenting it, nor refuſe a Challenge, if it be ſent to him in a proper Manner by a Man of Honour. I make no Doubt, but this Signification of the Word Honour is entirely Gothick, and ſprung up in ſome of the moſt ignorant Ages of Chriſtianity. It ſeems to have been an Invention to influence Men, whom Religion had no Power over. All Human Creatures have a reſtleſs Deſire of mending

ding their Condition; and in all Civil Societies and Communions of Men there ſeems to be a Spirit at Work, that, in Spight of the continual Oppoſition it receives from Vice and Misfortunes, is always labouring for, and ſeeking after what can never be obtain'd whilſt the World ſtands.

Hor. What is that pray?

Cleo. To make Men compleatly Happy upon Earth. Thus Men make Laws to obviate every Inconveniency they meet with; and as Times diſcover to them the Inſufficiency of thoſe Laws, they make others with an Intent to enforce, mend, explain or repeal the former; till the Body of Laws grows to ſuch an enormous Bulk, that to underſtand it is a tedious prolix Study, and the Numbers that follow and belong to the Practiſe of it, come to be a Grievance almoſt as great as could be fear'd from Injuſtice and Oppreſſion. Nothing is more neceſſary, than that Property ſhould be ſecured; and it is impoſſible but on many Occaſions Men muſt truſt one another in the Civil Society. Now Nothing has ever been thought to be more obligatory or a greater Tie upon Man than Religion.

Hor.

Hor. This I have often wonder'd at: Conſidering the Abſurdities in the Religion of the *Greeks* and *Romans*, the bad Examples and Immoralities of their Deities, the ridiculous Fables of a *Charon*, a *Styx*, a *Cerberus*, &c, and the Obſcenity diſplay'd in ſeveral of their Feſtivals, I cannot conceive how Men could expect, that ſuch Religions ſhould make Men Honeſt, or do any good to their Morals; and yet, which is amazing to me, moſt wiſe Men in all Ages have agreed, that, without ſome Religion or other, it would be impoſſible to govern any conſiderable Nation. However, I believe it is Fact, that it never was done.

Cleo. That no large Society of Men can be well govern'd without Religion, and that there never was a Nation that had not ſome Worſhip, and did not believe in ſome Deity or other, is moſt certain: But what do you think is the Reaſon of that?

Hor. Becauſe Multitudes muſt be aw'd by Something that is terrible, as Flames of Hell, and Fire everlaſting; and it is evident, that if it was not for the Fear of an After-Reckoning, ſome Men would be ſo wicked, that there would be no living with them.

Cleo. Pray, how wicked would they be? What Crimes would they commit?

Hor. Robbing, Murdering, Raviſhing.

Cleo. And are not often here, as well as in other Nations, People convicted of, and puniſh'd for thoſe Crimes?

Hor. I am ſatisfied, the Vulgar could not be managed without Religion of ſome Sort or other; for the Fear of Futurity keeps Thouſands in Awe, who, without that Reflection, would all be guilty of thoſe Crimes which are now committed only by a Few.

Cleo. This is a Surmiſe without any Foundation. It has been ſaid a Thouſand Times by Divines of all Sects; but No body has ever ſhewn the leaſt Probability of its being true; and daily Experience gives us all the Reaſon in the World to think the Contrary; for there are Thouſands, who, throughout the Courſe of their Lives, ſeem not to have the leaſt Regard to a future State, tho' they are Believers; and yet theſe very People are very cautious of committing any Thing which the Law would puniſh. You'll give me Leave to obſerve by the By, that to believe what you ſay, a Man muſt have a worſe Opinion of his Species, than ever the Author of the *Fable of the Bees* appears to have had yet.

Hor.

Hor. Don't miſtake me: I am far from believing, that Men of Senſe and Education are to be frighten'd with thoſe Bugbears.

Cleo. And what I ſay, I don't mean of Libertines or Deiſts; but Men, that to all outward Appearance are Believers, that go to Church, receive the Sacrament, and at the Approach of Death are obſerved to be really afraid of Hell. And yet of theſe, many are Drunkards, Whoremaſters, Adulterers, and not a Few of them betray their Truſt, rob their Country, defraud Widows and Orphans, and make wronging their Neighbours their daily Practice.

Hor. What Temporal Benefit can Religion be of to the Civil Society, if it don't keep People in Awe?

Cleo. That's another Queſtion. We both agree, that no Nation or large Society can be well govern'd without Religion. I ask'd you the Reaſon of this: You tell me, becauſe the Vulgar could not be kept in Awe without it. In Reply to this, I point at a Thouſand Inſtances, where Religion is not of that Efficacy, and ſhew you withal, that this End of keeping Men in Awe is much better obtain'd by the Laws and temporal Puniſhment; and that it is

the Fear of them, which actually reſtrains great Numbers of wicked People; I might ſay All, without Exception, of whom there is any Hope or Poſſibility, that they can be curb'd at all, or reſtrain'd by any Thing whatever: For ſuch Reprobates as can make a Jeſt of the Gallows, and are not afraid of Hanging, will laugh likewiſe at Hell and defy Damnation.

Hor. If the Reaſon I alledge is inſufficient, pray give me a better.

Cleo. I'll endeavour it. The Firſt Buſineſs of all Governments, I mean the Task which all Rulers muſt begin with, is, to make Men tractable and obedient, which is not to be perform'd, unleſs we can make them believe, that the Inſtructions and Commands we give them have a plain Tendency to the Good of every Individual, and that we ſay Nothing to them, but what we know to be true. To do this effectually, Human Nature ought to be humour'd as well as ſtudied: Whoever therefore takes upon him to govern a Multitude, ought to inform himſelf of thoſe Sentiments that are the natural Reſult of the Paſſions and Frailties which every Human Creature is born with.

Hor. I don't underſtand what Sentiments you ſpeak of.

Cleo.

Cleo. I'll explain my ſelf. All Men are born with Fear; and as they are likewiſe born with a Deſire of Happineſs and Self-Preſervation, it is natural for them to avoid Pain and every Thing that makes them uneaſy; and which, by a general Word, is call'd Evil. Fear being that Paſſion which inſpires us with a ſtrong Averſion to Evil, it is very natural to think that it will put us up on enquiring into the Means to ſhun it. I have told you already, in our Fifth Converſation, how this Averſion to Evil, and Endeavour to ſhun it, this Principle of Fear, would always naturally diſpoſe Human Creatures to ſuſpect the Exiſtence of an intelligent Cauſe that is inviſible, whenever any Evil happen'd to them, which came they knew not whence, and of which the Author was not to be ſeen. If you remember what I ſaid then, the Reaſons why no Nations can be govern'd without Religion, will be obvious. Every Individual, whether he is a Savage, or is born in a Civil Society, is perſuaded within, that there is ſuch an inviſible Cauſe; and ſhould any Mortal contradict this, no Multitude would believe a Word of what he ſaid. Whereas, on the other Hand, if a Ruler humours

this Fear, and puts it out of all Doubt, that there is ſuch an inviſible Cauſe, he may ſay of it what he pleaſes; and no Multitude, that was never taught any Thing to the contrary, will ever diſpute it with him. He may ſay, that it is a Crocodile or a Monkey, an Ox, or a Dog, an Onion, or a Wafer. And as to the Eſſence and the Qualities of the inviſible Cauſe, he is at Liberty to call it very good or very bad. He may ſay of it, that it is an envious, malicious, and the moſt cruel Being that can be imagin'd; that it loves Blood, and delights in Human Sacrifices: Or he may ſay, that there are two inviſible Cauſes; one the Author of Good, the other of Evil; or that there are Three; or that there is really but One, tho' ſeemingly there are Three, or elſe that there are Fifty Thouſand. The many Calamities we are liable to, from Thunder and Lightning, Hurricanes and Earthquakes, Plagues and Inundations, will always make ignorant and untaught Men more prone to believe, that the inviſible Cauſe is a bad miſchievous Being, than that it is a good benign one; as I ſhew'd you then in that Fifth Converſation.

Hor. On this Head I own I muſt give up Man-

Mankind, and cannot maintain the Excellency of Human Nature; for the Abſurdities in Idolatrous Worſhip, that have been and are ſtill committed by ſome of our own Species, are ſuch as no Creatures of any other could out-do them in.

Cleo. The Proteſtant and the Mahometan are the only National Religions now, that are free from Idolatry; and therefore the Abſurdities in the Worſhip of all the Reſt are pretty much alike; at leaſt, the Difference in the Degrees of Mens Folly, as Idolaters, is very inconſiderable. For how unknown ſoever an inviſible Cauſe, Power, or Being may be, that is incomprehenſible, this is certain of it, that no clear intelligible Idea can be form'd of it; and that no Figure can deſcribe it. All Attempts then, to repreſent the Deity, being equally vain and frivolous, no One Shape or Form can be imagin'd of it, that can juſtly be ſaid to be more or leſs abſurd than another. As to the temporal Benefit which Religion can be of to the Civil Society, or the Political View which Lawgivers and Governours may have in promoting it, the chief Uſe of it is in Promiſes of Allegiance and Loyalty, and all ſolemn Engagements and Aſſeverations, in which the inviſible Power, that, in

every Country, is the Object of the Publick Worſhip, is invoked or appeal'd to. For theſe Purpoſes all Religions are equally ſerviceable; and the worſt is better than none: For without the Belief of an inviſible Cauſe, no Man's Word is to be relied upon, no Vows or Proteſtations can be depended upon; but as ſoon as a Man believes, that there is a Power ſomewhere, that will certainly puniſh him, if he forſwears himſelf; as ſoon, I ſay, as a Man believes this, we have Reaſon to truſt to his Oath; at leaſt, it is a better Teſt than any other Verbal Aſſurance. But what this ſame Perſon believes further, concerning the Nature and the Eſſence of that Power he ſwears by, the Worſhip it requires, or whether he conceives it in the ſingular or plural Number, may be very material to himſelf, but the Society has Nothing to do with it: Becauſe it can make no Alteration in the Security which his Swearing gives us. I don't deny the Uſefulneſs which even the worſt Religion that can be, may be of to Politicians and the Civil Society: But what I inſiſt upon, is, that the temporal Benefit of it, or the Contrivance of Oaths and Swearing, could never have enter'd into the Heads of Politicians, if the Fear of an inviſible

ſible Cauſe had not pre-exiſted and been ſuppoſed to be univerſal, any more than they would have contrived Matrimony, if the Deſire of Procreation had not been planted in Human Nature and viſible in both Sexes. Paſſions don't affect us, but when they are provoked: The Fear of Death is a Reality in our Nature: But the greateſt Cowards may, and often do, live Forty Years and longer, without being diſturb'd by it. The Fear of an inviſible Cauſe is as real in our Nature, as the Fear of Death; either of them may be conquer'd perhaps; but ſo may Luſt; and Experience teaches us, that how violent ſoever the Deſire of Propagating our Species may be whilſt we are young, it goes off, and is often entirely loſt in old Age. When I hear a Man ſay, that he never felt any Fear of an inviſible Cauſe, that was not owing to Education, I believe him as much as I do a young married Woman in Health and Vigour, who tells me, that ſhe never felt any Love to a Man, that did not proceed from a Senſe of her Duty.

Hor. Does this Fear, this Acknowledgment of an inviſible Cauſe, diſpoſe or excite Men any more to the true Religion, than it does to the groſſeſt and moſt abominable Idolatry?

Cleo.

Cleo. I don't ſay it does. But there is no Paſſion in Human Nature ſo beneficial, that, according as it is managed, may not do Miſchief as well as good. What do you think of Love? If this Fear had not been common to the whole Species, none could have been influenc'd by it; the Conſequence of which muſt have been, that Men would have rejected the true Religion as well as the falſe. There is Nothing that Men may differ in, in which they will ever be all of the ſame Opinion: And abſtruſe Truths do often ſeem to be leſs probable than well dreſs'd Fables, when they are skilfully accommodated to our Underſtanding, and agreeable to our own Way of thinking. That there is but one God, the Creator of Heaven and Earth, that is an allwiſe and perfectly good Being, without any Mixture of Evil, would have been a moſt rational Opinion, tho' it had not been reveal'd. But Reaſoning and Metaphyſicks muſt have been carried on to a great Height of Perfection, before this Truth could be penetrated into by the Light of Nature. *Plutarch*, who was a Man of great Learning, and has in many Things diſplay'd good Senſe and Capacity, thought it impoſſible, that one Being ſhould have

have been the Cauſe of the Whole, and was therefore of Opinion, that there muſt have been Two Principles; the one to produce all the Good; and the other all the Evil that is in the World. And Some of the greateſt Men have been of this Opinion, both before and ſince the Promulgation of the Goſpel. But whatever Philoſophers and Men of Letters may have advanced, there never was an Age or a Country where the Vulgar would ever come into an Opinion that contradicted that Fear, which all Men are born with, of an inviſible Cauſe, that meddles and interferes in Human Affairs; and there is a greater Poſſibility, that the moſt Senſeleſs Enthuſiaſt ſhould make a knowing and polite Nation believe the moſt incredible Falſities, or that the moſt odious Tyrant ſhould perſuade them to the groſſeſt Idolatry, than that the moſt artful Politician, or the moſt popular Prince, ſhould make Atheiſm to be univerſally received among the Vulgar of any conſiderable State or Kingdom, tho' there were no Temples or Prieſts to be ſeen. From all which I would ſhew, that, on the one Hand, you can make no Multitudes believe contrary to what they feel, or what contradicts a Paſſion inherent

rent in their Nature, and that, on the other, if you humour that Paſſion, and allow it to be juſt, you may regulate it as you pleaſe. How unanimous ſoever, therefore, all Rulers and Magiſtrates have ſeem'd to be in promoting ſome Religion or other, the Principle of it was not of their Invention. They found it in Man; and the Fear of an inviſible Cauſe being univerſal, if Governours had ſaid Nothing of it, every Man in his own Breaſt would have found Fault with them, and had a Superſtition of his own to himſelf. It has often been ſeen, that the moſt ſubtle Unbelievers among Politicians have been forced, for their own Quiet, to counterfeit their Attachment to Religion, when they would a Thouſand Times rather have done without it.

Hor. It is not in the Power then, you think, of Politicians to contradict the Paſſions, or deny the Exiſtence of them, but that, when once they have allow'd them to be juſt and natural, they may guide Men in the Indulgence of them, as they pleaſe.

Cleo. I do ſo; and the Truth of this is evident likewiſe in another Paſſion, (*viz*) that of Love, which I hinted at before; and Marriage was not invented to make Men procre-

ate;

ate; they had that Desire before; but it was instituted to regulate a strong Passion, and prevent the innumerable Mischiefs that would ensue, if Men and Women should converse together promiscuously, and love and leave one another as Caprice and their unruly Fancy led them. Thus we see, that every Legislator has regulated Matrimony in that Way, which, to the best of his Skill, he imagin'd would be the most proper to promote the Peace and Felicity in general of Those he govern'd: And how great an Impostor soever *Mahomet* was, I can never believe, that he would have allow'd his *Mussulmen* Three or Four Wives a piece, if he had thought it better, that one Man should be contented with and confin'd to One Woman; I mean better upon the Whole, more beneficial to the Civil Society, as well in Consideration of the Climate he lived in, as the Nature and the Temperament of those *Arabians* he gave his Laws to.

Hor. But what is all this to the Origin of Honour? What Reason have you to think it to be of Gothick Extraction?

Cleo. My Conjecture concerning Honour, as it signifies a Principle from which Men act,

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is, that it is an Invention of Politicians, to keep Men close to their Promises and Engagements, when all other Ties prov'd ineffectual; and the Christian Religion itself was often found insufficient for that Purpose.

Hor. But the Belief of an over-ruling Power, that will certainly punish Perjury and Injustice, being common to all Religions, what pre-eminence has the Christian over the Rest, as to the Civil Society in Temporals?

Cleo. It shews and insists upon the Necessity of that Belief more amply and more emphatically than any other. Besides, the Strictness of its Morality, and the exemplary Lives of Those who preach'd it, gain'd vast Credit to the mysterious Part of it; and there never had been a Doctrine or Philosophy from which it was so likely to expect, that it would produce Honesty, mutual Love and Faithfulness in the Discharge of all Duties and Engagements as the Christian Religion. The wisest Moralists, before that Time, had laid the greatest Stress on the Reasonableness of their Precepts; and appeal'd to Human Understanding for the Truth of their Opinions. But the Gospel, soaring beyond the Reach of Reason, teaches us many Things, which no Mor-

Mortal could ever have known, unleſs they had been reveal'd to him; and ſeveral that muſt always remain incomprehenſible to finite Capacities; and this is the Reaſon, that the Goſpel preſſes and enjoins Nothing with more Earneſtneſs than Faith and Believing.

Hor. But would Men be more ſway'd by Things they believed only, than they would be by thoſe they underſtood?

Cleo. All Human Creatures are ſway'd and wholly govern'd by their Paſſions, whatever fine Notions we may flatter our Selves with; even thoſe who act ſuitably to their Knowledge, and ſtrictly follow the Dictates of their Reaſon, are not leſs compell'd ſo to do by ſome Paſſion or other, that ſets them to Work, than others, who bid Defiance and act contrary to Both, and whom we call Slaves to their Paſſions. To love Virtue for the Beauty of it, and curb one's Appetites becauſe it is moſt reaſonable ſo to do, are very good Things in Theory; but whoever underſtands our Nature, and conſults the Practice of Human Creatures, would ſooner expect from them, that they ſhould abſtain from Vice, for Fear of Puniſhment, and do good, in Hopes of being rewarded for it.

Hor.

Hor. Would you prefer that Goodneſs, built upon Selfiſhneſs and Mercenary Principles, to that which proceeds from a Rectitude of Thinking, and a real Love of Virtue and the Reaſonableneſs of Mens Actions?

Cleo. We can give no better Proof of our Reaſonableneſs, than by judging rightly. When a Man wavers in his Choice, between preſent Enjoyments of Eaſe and Pleaſure, and the Diſcharge of Duties that are troubleſome, he weighs what Damage or Benefit will accrue to him upon the Whole, as well from the Neglect as the Obſervance of the Duties that are preſcrib'd to him; and the greater the Puniſhment is he fears from the Neglect, and the more tranſcendent the Reward is which he hopes for from the Obſervance, the more reaſonably he acts, when he ſides with his Duty. To bear with Inconveniencies, Pain, and Sorrow, in Hopes of being eternally Happy, and refuſe the Enjoyments of Pleaſure, for Fear of being Miſerable for ever, are more juſtifiable to Reaſon, and more conſonant to good Senſe, than it is to do it for Nothing.

Hor. But our Divines will tell you, that this Slaviſh Fear is unacceptable, and that the Love

Love of God ought to be the Motive of good Actions.

Cleo. I have Nothing againſt the refin'd Notions of the Love of God, but this is not what I would now ſpeak of. My Deſign was only to prove, that the more firmly Men believe Rewards and Puniſhments from an inviſible Cauſe, and the more this Belief always influences them in all their Actions, the cloſer they'll keep to Juſtice and all Promiſes and Engagements. It is this that was always moſt wanted in the Civil Society; and, before the Coming of *Chriſt*, Nothing had appear'd upon Earth, from which this grand *Deſideratum*, this Bleſſing, might ſo reaſonably be expected as it might from his Doctrine. In the Beginning of Chriſtianity, and whilſt the Goſpel was explain'd without any Regard to Wordly Views, to be a Soldier was thought inconſiſtent with the Profeſſion of a Chriſtian; but this Strictneſs of the Goſpel-Principles began to be diſapproved of in the Second Century. The Divines of thoſe Days were moſt of them become arrant Prieſts, and ſaw plainly, that a Religion, which would not allow its Votaries to aſſiſt at Courts or Armies, and comply with the vain World, could never

be made National; conſequently, the Clergy of it could never acquire any conſiderable Power upon Earth. In Spirituals they were the Succeſſors of the Apoſtles, but in Temporals they wanted to ſucceed the Pagan Prieſts, whoſe Poſſeſſions they look'd upon with wiſhful Eyes; and Worldly Strength and Authority being abſolutely neceſſary to eſtabliſh Dominion, it was agreed, that Chriſtians might be Soldiers, and in a juſt War fight with the Enemies of their Country. But Experience ſoon taught them, that thoſe Chriſtians, whoſe Conſciences would ſuffer them to be Soldiers, and to act contrary to the Doctrine of Peace, were not more ſtrict Obſervers of other Duties; that Pride, Avarice and Revenge ranged among them as they did among the Heathens, and that many of them were guilty of Drunkenneſs and Incontinence, Fraud and Injuſtice, at the ſame Time that they pretended to great Zeal, and were great Sticklers for their Religion. This made it evident, that there could be no Religion ſo ſtrict, no Syſtem of Morality ſo refin'd, nor Theory ſo well meaning, but ſome People might pretend to profeſs and follow it, and yet be looſe Livers, and wicked in their Practice.

Hor.

Hor. Thoſe who profeſs to be of a Theory, which they contradict by their Practice, are, without Doubt, Hypocrites.

Cleo. I have more Charity than to think ſo. There are real Believers that lead Wicked Lives; and Many ſtick not at Crimes, which they never would have dared to commit, if the Terrors of the Divine Juſtice, and the Flames of Hell, had ſtruck their Imagination, and been before them in the ſame Manner as they really believe they ſhall be; or if at that Time their Fears had made the ſame Impreſſion upon them, which they do at others, when the Evil dreaded ſeems to be near. Things at a Diſtance, tho' we are ſure that they are to come, make little Impreſſion upon us in Compariſon with thoſe that are preſent and immediately before us. This is evident in the Affair of Death: There is No body who does not believe, that he muſt die, Mr. *Aſgil* perhaps excepted; yet it hardly ever employs People's Thoughts, even of Thoſe who are moſt terribly afraid of it whilſt they are in perfect Health, and have every Thing they like. Man is never better pleas'd than when he is employ'd in procuring Eaſe and Pleaſure, in thinking on his own Worth, and

mending his Condition upon Earth. Whether This is laid on the Devil or our Attachment to the World, it is plain to me, that it flows from Man's Nature, always to mind to Flatter, Love, and take Delight in himſelf; and that he cares as little as poſſible ever to be interrupted in this grand Employment. As every Organ, and every Part of Man, ſeems to be made and wiſely contriv'd for the Functions of this Life only, ſo his Nature prompts him, not to have any Sollicitude for Things beyond this World. The Care of Self-Preſervation we are born with, does not extend it ſelf beyond this Life; therefore every Creature dreads Death as the Diſſolution of its Being, the Term not to be exceeded, the End of All. How various and unreaſonable ſoever our Wiſhes may be, and how enormous the Multiplicity of our Deſires, they terminate in Life, and all the Objects of them are on this Side the Grave.

Hor. Has not a Man Deſires beyond the Grave, who buys an Eſtate, not to be enjoy'd but by his Heirs, and enters into Agreements that ſhall be binding for a Thouſand Years.

Cleo. All the Pleaſure and Satisfaction that can ariſe from the Reflection on our Heirs, is

enjoy'd

enjoy'd in this Life: And the Benefits and Advantages we wiſh to our Poſterity are of the ſame Nature with thoſe which we would wiſh to our Selves if we were to live; and what we take Care of is, that they ſhall be Rich, keep their Poſſeſſions, and that their Eſtates, Authority and Prerogatives ſhall never diminiſh, but rather encreaſe. We look upon Poſterity as the Effect of which we are the Cauſe, and we reckon our Selves as it were to continue in them.

Hor. But the Ambitious that are in Purſuit of Glory, and ſacrifiſe their Lives to Fame and a laſting Reputation, ſure they have Wiſhes beyond the Grave.

Cleo. Tho' a Man ſhould ſtretch and carry his Ambition to the End of the World, and deſire not to be forgot as long as that ſtood; yet the Pleaſure that ariſes from the Reflection on what ſhall be ſaid of him Thouſands and Thouſands of Years after, can only be enjoy'd in this Life. If a vain Coxcomb, whoſe Memory ſhall die with him, can be but firmly perſuaded, that he ſhall leave an eternal Name, the Reflection may give him as much Pleaſure as the greateſt Hero can receive from reflecting on what ſhall really render

him immortal. A Man, who is not regenerated, can have no Notion of another World, or future Happineſs; therefore his Longing after it cannot be very ſtrong. Nothing can affect us forcibly but what ſtrikes the Senſes, or ſuch Things which we are conſcious of within. By the Light of Nature only, we are capable of demonſtrating to our Selves the Neceſſity of a Firſt Cauſe, a Supreme Being; but the Exiſtence of a Deity cannot be render'd more manifeſt to our Reaſon, than his Eſſence is unknown and incomprehenſible to our Underſtanding.

Hor. I don't ſee what you drive at.

Cleo. I am endeavouring to account for the ſmall Effect and little Force, which Religion, and the Belief of future Puniſhments, may be of to mere Man, unaſſiſted with the Divine Grace. The Practice of nominal Chriſtians is perpetually claſhing with the Theory they profeſs. Innumerable Sins are committed in private, which the Preſence of a Child, or the moſt inſignificant Perſon, might have hinder'd, by Men who believe God to be omniſcient, and never queſtion'd his Ubiquity.

Hor. But pray, come to the Point, the Origin of Honour.

Cleo.

Cleo. If we conſider, that Men are always endeavouring to mend their Condition and render Society more happy as to this World we may eaſily conceive, when it was evident that Nothing could be a Check upon Man that was abſent, or at leaſt appear'd not to be preſent, how Moraliſts and Politicians came to look for Something in Man himſelf, to keep him in Awe. The more they examin'd into Human Nature, the more they muſt have been convinced, that Man is ſo Selfiſh a Creature, that, whilſt he is at Liberty, the greateſt Part of his Time will always be beſtow'd upon himſelf; and that whatever Fear or Reverence he might have for an inviſible Cauſe, that Thought was often joſtled out by others, more nearly relating to himſelf. It is obvious likewiſe, that he neither loves nor eſteems any Thing ſo well as he does his own Individual; and that there is Nothing, which he has ſo conſtantly before his Eyes, as his own dear Self. It is highly probable, that skilful Rulers, having made theſe Obſervations for ſome Time, would be tempted to try if Man could not be made an Object of Reverence to himſelf.

Hor. You have only named Love and Eſ-

teem; they alone cannot produce Reverence by your own Maxim; how could they make a Man afraid of himſelf?

Cleo. By improving upon his Dread of Shame; and this, I am perſuaded, was the Caſe: For as ſoon as it was found out, that many vicious, quarrelſome, and undaunted Men, that fear'd neither God nor Devil, were yet often curb'd and viſibly with-held by the Fear of Shame; and likewiſe that this Fear of Shame might be greatly encreas'd by an artful Education, and be made ſuperiour even to that of Death, they had made a Diſcovery of a real Tie, that would ſerve many noble Purpoſes in the Society. This I take to have been the Origin of Honour, the Principle of which has its Foundation in Self-liking; and no Art could ever have fix'd or rais'd it in any Breaſt, if that Paſſion had not pre-exiſted and been predominant there.

Hor. But, how are you ſure, that this was the Work of Moraliſts and Politicians, as you ſeem to inſinuate?

Cleo. I give thoſe Names promiſcuouſly to All that, having ſtudied Human Nature, have endeavour'd to civilize Men, and render them more and more tractable, either for the Eaſe

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of Governours and Magiſtrates, or elſe for the Temporal Happineſs of Society in general. I think of all Inventions of this Sort, the ſame which told * you of Politeneſs, that they are the joint Labour of Many. Human Wiſdom is the Child of Time. It was not the Contrivance of one Man, nor could it have been the Buſineſs of a few Years, to eſtabliſh a Notion, by which a rational Creature is kept in Awe for Fear of it Self, and an Idol is ſet up, that ſhall be its own Worſhiper.

Hor. But I deny, that in the Fear of Shame we are afraid of our Selves. What we fear, is the Judgment of others, and the ill Opinion they will juſtly have of us.

Cleo. Examine this thoroughly, and you'll find, that when we covet Glory, or dread Infamy, it is not the good or bad Opinion of others that affects us with Joy or Sorrow, Pleaſure or Pain; but it is the Notion we form of that Opinion of theirs, and muſt proceed from the Regard and Value we have for it. If it was otherwiſe, the moſt Shameleſs Fellow would ſuffer as much in his Mind from publick Diſgrace and Infamy, as a Man that

* Fable of the Bees, Part. 11. page 132.

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values his Reputation. Therefore it is the Notion we have of Things, our own Thought and Something within our Selves, that creates the Fear of Shame: For if I have a Reaſon, why I forbear to do a Thing to Day, which it is impoſſible ſhould be known before to Morrow, I muſt be with-held by Something that exiſts already; for Nothing can act upon me the Day before it has its Being.

Hor. The Upſhot is I find, that Honour is of the ſame Origin with Virtue.

Cleo. But the Invention of Honour, as a Principle, is of a much later Date; and I look upon it as the greater Atchievement by far. It was an Improvement in the Art of Flattery, by which the Excellency of our Species is raiſed to ſuch a Height, that it becomes the Object of our own Adoration, and Man is taught in good Earneſt to worſhip himſelf.

Hor. But granting you, that both Virtue and Honour are of Human Contrivance, why do you look upon the Invention of the One to be a greater Atchievement than that of the other?

Cleo. Becauſe the One is more ſkilfully adapted to our inward Make. Men are better paid for their Adherence to Honour, than they

they are for their Adherence to Virtue: The First requires leſs Self-denial; and the Rewards they receive for that Little are not imaginary but real and palpable. But Experience confirms what I ſay: The Invention of Honour has been far more beneficial to the Civil Society than that of Virtue, and much better anſwer'd the End for which they were invented. For ever ſince the Notion of Honour has been receiv'd among Chriſtians, there have always been, in the ſame Number of People, Twenty Men of real Honour, to One of real Virtue. The Reaſon is obvious. The Perſuaſions to Virtue make no Allowances, nor have any Allurements that are claſhing with the Principle of it; whereas the Men of Pleaſure, the Paſſionate and the Malicious, may all in their Turns meet with Opportunities of indulging their darling Appetites without treſpaſſing againſt the Principle of Honour. A virtuous Man thinks himſelf obliged to obey the Laws of his Country; but a Man of Honour acts from a Principle which he is bound to believe Superiour to all Laws. Do but conſider the Inſtinct of Sovereignty that all Men are born with, and you'll find, that in the cloſeſt Attachment to the Principle of Honour there

there are Enjoyments that are raviſhing to Human Nature. A virtuous Man expects no Acknowledgments from others; and if they won't believe him to be virtuous, his Buſineſs is not to force them to it; but a Man of Honour has the Liberty openly to proclaim himſelf to be ſuch, and call to an Account Every body who dares to doubt of it: Nay, ſuch is the ineſtimable Value he ſets upon himſelf, that he often endeavours to puniſh with Death the moſt inſignificant Treſpaſs that's committed againſt him, the leaſt Word, Look, or Motion, if he can find but any far-fetch'd Reaſon to ſuſpect a Deſign in it to under-value him; and of this No body is allow'd to be a Judge but himſelf. The Enjoyments that ariſe from being virtuous are of that Nicety, that every ordinary Capacity cannot reliſh them: As, without Doubt, there is a noble Pleaſure in forgiving of Injuries, to Speculative Men that have refin'd Notions of Virtue; but it is more Natural to reſent them; and in revenging one's ſelf, there is a Pleaſure which the meaneſt Underſtanding is capable of taſting. It is manifeſt then, that there are Allurements in the Principle of Honour, to draw in Men of the loweſt Capacity, and even the vicious, which Virtue has not.

Hor.

Hor. I can't ſee, how a Man can be really virtuous, who is not likewiſe a Man of Honour. A Perſon may deſire to be Honeſt, and have an Averſion to Injuſtice, but unleſs he has Courage, he will not always dare to be juſt, and may on many Occaſions be afraid to do his Duty. There is no Dependance to be had on a Coward, who may be bully'd into vicious Actions, and every Moment be frighten'd from his Principle.

Cleo. It never was pretended, that a Man could be Virtuous and a Coward at the ſame Time; ſince Fortitude is the very Firſt of the Four Cardinal Virtues. As much Courage and Intrepidity as you pleaſe; but a virtuous Man will never diſplay his Valour with Oſtentation, where the Laws of God and Men forbid him to make Uſe of it. What I would demonſtrate, is, that there are many Allowances, groſs Indulgences to Human Nature in the Principle of Honour, eſpecially of modern Honour, that are always exclaim'd againſt by the Voice of Virtue, and diametrically oppoſite to the Doctrine of *Chriſt*.

Hor. Yet the further we look back for theſe Seven or Eight Hundred Years, the more we ſhall find Honour and Religion blended together.

Cleo.

Cleo. When Ignorance, for ſeveral Ages, had been ſucceſsfully encouraged and was deſignedly introduced to make Way for Credulity, the Simplicity of the Goſpel and the Doctrine of *Chriſt* were turn'd into Gaudy Foppery and vile Superſtition. It was then, that the Church of *Rome* began openly to execute her deep-laid Plot for enſlaving the Laity. Knowing, that no Power or Authority can be eſtabliſh'd or long maintain'd upon Earth without real Strength and Force of Arms, ſhe very early coax'd the Soldiery, and made all Men of Valour her Tools by Three Maxims, that, if ſkilfully follow'd, will never fail of engaging Mankind in our Favour.

Hor. What are thoſe, pray.

Cleo. Indulging Some in their Vices, Humouring Others in their Folly, and Flattering the Pride of All. The various Orders of Knighthood were ſo many Bulwarks to defend the Temporals of the Church, as well againſt the Encroachments of her Friends, as the Invaſions of her Enemies. It was in the Inſtitutions of theſe Orders, that Pains were taken by the grand Architects of the Church, to reconcile, in outward Shew, the Principle of Honour with that of the Chriſtian Religion, and

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make Men ſtupidly believe, that the Height of Pride is not inconſiſtent with the greateſt Humility. In theſe Solemnities the jugling Prieſts reſolved to be kept out no where; had commonly the greateſt Share; continually blending Rites ſeemingly Sacred with the Emblems of vain Glory, which made all of them an eternal Mixture of Pomp and Superſtition.

Hor. I don't believe, that ever Any body ſet thoſe Things in ſuch a Light beſides your Self; but I ſee no Deſign, and the Prieſts gave themſelves a great Deal of Trouble for Nothing.

Cleo. Yet it is certain, that, by this and other Arts, they made themſelves ſure of the moſt dangerous Men; for by this Means the boldeſt and even the moſt wicked became Bigots. The leſs Religion they had, the more they ſtood in Need of the Church; and the farther they went from God, the more cloſely they ſtuck to the Prieſts, whoſe Power over the Laity was then the moſt abſolute and uncontroul'd when the Crimes of Theſe were moſt flagrant and enormous.

Hor. I believe, that among the Men of Honour Many were tainted with Pride and Superſtition at the ſame Time; but there were Others

others in whom ſuperlative Bravery was united with the ſtricteſt Virtue.

Cleo. All Ages have had Men of Courage, and all Ages have had Men of Virtue; but the Examples of Thoſe you ſpeak of, in whom ſuperlative Bravery was united with the ſtricteſt Virtue, were always extremely ſcarce, and are rarely to be met with, but in Legends and Romances, the Writers of both which I take to have been the greateſt Enemies to Truth and ſober Senſe the World ever produc'd. I don't deny, that by peruſing them Some might have fallen in Love with Courage and Heroiſm, others with Chaſtity and Temperance, but the Deſign of both was to ſerve the Church of *Rome*, and with wonderful Stories to gain the Attention of the Readers, whilſt they taught Bigotry, and inured them to believe Impoſſibilities. But what I intended was to point at the People that had the greateſt Hand in reconciling, to outward Appearance, the Principle of Honour with that of the Chriſtian Religion, the Ages This was done in, and the Reaſons for which it was attempted. For it is certain, that by the Maxims I named, the Church made her ſelf ſure of Thoſe who were moſt to be fear'd.

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Do but caſt your Eyes on the childiſh Farces, ſome Popes have made great Men the chief Actors in, and the apiſh Tricks they made them play, when they found them intoxicated with Pride, and that at the ſame Time they were Believers without Reſerve. What Impertinence of tedious Ceremonies have they made the greateſt Princes ſubmit to, even ſuch as were noted for being cholerick and impatient! What Abſurdities in Dreſs have they made them ſwallow for Ornaments and Marks of Dignity! If in all theſe the Paſſion of Self-liking had not been highly gratify'd as well as play'd upon, Men of Senſe could never have been fond of them, nor could they have been of that Duration; for many of them are ſtill remaining even in Proteſtant Countries, where all the Frauds of Popery have been detected long ago; and ſuch Veneration is paid to ſome of them, that it would hardly be ſafe to ridicule them. It is amazing to think, what immenſe Multitudes of Badges of Honour have been invented by Popery, that are all diſtinct from the Reſt, and yet have Something or other to ſhew, that they have a Relation to Chriſtianity. What a vaſt Variety of Shapes, not reſembling the Original, has the poor

Croſs been tortur'd into! How differently has it been placed and repreſented on the Garments of Men and Women, from Head to Foot! How inconſiderable are all other Frauds that Lay-Rogues now and then have been ſecretly guilty of, if you compare them to the bare-fac'd Cheats and impudent Forgeries, with which the Church of *Rome* has conſtantly impoſed upon Mankind in a triumphant Manner! What contemptible Baubles has that Holy Toy-ſhop put off in the Face of the Sun for the richeſt Merchandize! She has bribed the moſt Selfiſh and penetrating Statesmen, with empty Sounds, and Titles without Meaning. The moſt reſolute Warriours She has forced to deſiſt from their Purpoſes, and do her dirty Work againſt their own Intereſt. I ſhall ſay Nothing of the Holy War; how often the Church has kindled and renew'd it, or what a Handle She made of it to raiſe and eſtabliſh her own Power, and to weaken and undermine that of the Temporal Princes in *Chriſtendom*. The Authority of the Church has made the greateſt Princes and moſt haughty Sovereigns fall proſtrate before, and pay Adoration to the vileſt Trumpery, and accept of, as Preſents of ineſtimable Worth, deſpicable Trifles

ſles, that had no Value at all but what was ſet upon them by the Gigantick Impudence of the Donors, and the childiſh Credulity of the Receivers. The Church miſled the Vulgar, and then made Money of their Errors. There is not an Attribute of God, and hardly a Word in the Bible, to which ſhe gave not ſome Turn or other, to ſerve her Worldly Intereſt. The Belief of Witch-craft was the Fore-runner of Exorciſms; and the Prieſts forged Apparitions to ſhew the Power they pretended to, of laying Spirits, and caſting out Devils. To make accuſed Perſons, ſometimes by Ordeal, at others by ſingle Combat, try the Juſtice of their Cauſe, were both Arrows out of her Quiver; and it is from the latter, that the Faſhion of Duelling took its Riſe. But thoſe ſingle Combats at firſt were only fought by Perſons of great Quality, and on ſome conſiderable Quarrel, when they ask'd Leave of the Sovereign to decide the Difference between them by Feats of Arms; which being obtain'd, Judges of the Combat were appointed, and the Champions enter'd the Liſt with great Pomp, and in a very ſolemn Manner. But as the Principle of Honour came to be very uſeful, the Notions of it, by Degrees, were induſtri-

ouſly ſpread among the Multitude, till at laſt all Swords-men took it in their Heads, that they had a Right to decide their own Quarrels, without aſking any Body's Leave. Two Hundred Years ago ——

Hor. Pardon my Rudeneſs, I cannot ſtay one Moment. An Affair of Importance requires my Preſence. It is an Appointment which I had entirely forgot when I came hither. I am ſure I have been ſtaid for this Half Hour.

Cleo. Pray, *Horatio*, make no Apologies. There is no Company I love better than I do yours when you are at Leiſure; but ——.

Hor. You don't ſtir out I know; I ſhall be back again in Two Hours Time.

Cleo. And I ſhall be at Home for No body but your Self.

THE

Second Dialogue

BETWEEN

Horatio and *Cleomenes.*

Horatio.

I Believe I am within my Time.

Cleo. By above Ten Minutes.

Hor. When I came back in the Chair, I was thinking how artfully, all this Afternoon, you avoided ſaying any Thing of Honour, as it relates to the Fair Sex. Their Honour, you know, conſiſts in their Chaſtity, which is a real Virtue in your own Senſe, not to be practis'd without palpable Self-denial. To make a Vow of perpetual Virginity, and to be reſolute enough, never to break it, is a Taſk not to be perform'd without the utmoſt Mortification to Fleſh and Blood, eſpecially in

handſome clever Women that ſeem to be made for Love, as you and I have ſeen a great many in the Nunneries in *Flanders.* Self-liking or Pride have Nothing to do there; for the more powerfully that Paſſion operates in either Men or Women, the leſs Inclination they'll ſhew to be mew'd up in a Cloyſter, where they can have None but their own Sex to converſe with.

Cleo. The Reaſon why I ſaid Nothing of Honour as it relates to the fair Sex, was becauſe we had ſpoke of it already in a former Converſation; by the ſame Token, that I told you then, that * *the Word Honour, I mean, the Sence of it, was very whimſical, and the Difference in the Signification ſo prodigious, according as the Attribute was either applied to a Man, or to a Woman, that neither ſhall forfeit their Honour, tho' each ſhould be guilty, and openly boaſt of what would be the other's greateſt Shame.*

Hor. I remember it, and it is true. Gallantry with Women, is no Diſcredit to the Men, any more than Want of Courage is a Reproach to the Ladies. But do you think this is an Anſwer to what I ſaid?

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* Fable of the Bees, part 11. page 128.

Cleo.

Cleo. It is an Anſwer to your Charge againſt me of making Uſe of an Artifice, which, I declare to you, never enter'd into my Head. That the Honour of Women in general, is allow'd to conſiſt in their Chaſtity, is very true; the Words themſelves have been made Uſe of as Synonimous even among the Ancients: But this, ſtrictly ſpeaking, ought only to be underſtood of Worldly Women, who act from Political Views, and at beſt from a Principle of Heathen Virtue. But the Women you ſpeak of among the Chriſtians, who, having vow'd a perpetual Virginity, debar themſelves from ſenſual Pleaſures, muſt be ſet on, and animated by a higher Principle than that of Honour. Thoſe who can voluntarily make this Vow in good Humour and Proſperity, as well as Health and Vigour, and keep it with Strictneſs, tho' it is in their Power to break it, have, I own with you, a Taſk to perform, than which Nothing can be more mortifying to Fleſh and Blood. Self-liking or Pride, as you ſay, have Nothing to do there. But where are theſe Women to be found?

Hor. I told you; in the Religious Houſes.

Cleo. I don't believe there is one in a Thouſand that anſwers the Character you gave of

them. Moſt Nuns are made whilſt they are very young, and under the Tuition of others; and oftner by Compulſion than their own Choice.

Hor. But there are Women grown, who take the Veil voluntarily, when they are at their own Diſpoſal.

Cleo. Not many, who have not ſome ſubſtantial Reaſon or other for it, that has no Relation to Piety or Devotion; ſuch as the Want of a Portion ſuitable to their Quality; Diſappointments or other Misfortunes in the World. But to come to the Point. There are but two Things which, in Celibacy, can make Men or Women, in Youth and Health, ſtrictly comply with the Rules of Chaſtity; and theſe are Religion, and the Fear of Shame. Good Chriſtians, that are wholly ſway'd by the Senſe of a Religious Duty, muſt be ſupernaturally aſſiſted, and are Proof againſt all Temptations. But Theſe have always been very ſcarce, and there are no Numbers of them any where, that one can readily go to. It would perhaps be an odious Diſquiſition, whether, among all the young and middle-aged Women who lead a Monaſtick Life, and are ſecluded from the World, there are Any that have, abſtract from

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all other Motives, Religion enough to ſecure them from the Frailty of the Fleſh, if they had an Opportunity to gratify it to their Liking with Impunity. This is certain, that their Superiors, and Thoſe under whoſe Care theſe Nuns are, ſeem not to entertain that Opinion of the Generality of them. They always keep them lock'd up and barr'd; ſuffer no Men to converſe with them even in Publick, but where there are Grates between them, and not even then within Reach of one another: And tho' hardly a Male Creature of any Kind is allow'd to come near them, yet they are ever ſuſpicious of them, pry into their moſt Secret Thoughts, and keep conſtantly a watchful Eye over them.

Hor. Don't you think this muſt be a great Mortification to young Women?

Ceo. Yes, a forc'd one; but there is no voluntary Self-denial, which was the Thing you ſpoke of. The Mortification which they feel is like that of Vagabonds in a Work-Houſe: There is no Virtue in the Confinement of either. Both are diſſatisfied, without Doubt, but it is becauſe they are not employ'd to their Liking; and what they grieve at, is, that they can't help themſelves. But there are Thouſands

ſands of vain Women, whom no Thoughts of Futurity ever made any Impreſſion upon, that lead ſingle Lives by Choice, and are at the ſame Time careful of their Honour to the greateſt Nicety, in the Midſt of Temptations, gay ſprightly Women, of amorous Complexions, that can deny a paſſionate, deſerving Lover, whoſe Perſon they approve of and admire, when they are alone with him in the dark; and all this from no better Principle than the Fear of Shame, which has its Foundation in Self-liking, and is ſo manifeſtly derived from that and no other Paſſion. You and I are acquainted with Women, that have refuſed Honourable Matches with the Men they loved, and with whom they might have been Happy, if they themſelves had been leſs intoxicated with Vanity.

Hor. But when a Woman can marry, and be maintain'd ſuitably to her Quality, and ſhe refuſes a Man upon no other Score, than that his Fortune, or his Eſtate, are not equal to her unreaſonable Deſires, the Paſſion ſhe acts from is Covetouſneſs.

Cleo. Would you call a Woman covetous, who viſibly takes Delight in Laviſhneſs, and never ſhew'd any Value for Money when

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She had it: One that would not have a Shilling left at the Year's End, tho' ſhe had Fifty Thouſand Pounds coming in? All Women conſult not what is befitting their Quality: What many of them want is to be maintain'd ſuitably to their Merit, their own Worth, which with great Sincerity they think ineſtimable, and which conſequently no Price can be equal to. The Motive therefore of theſe Women is no other, than what I have call'd it, their Vanity, the undoubted Offspring of Self-liking, a palpable Exceſs, an extravagant Degree of the Paſſion, that is able to ſtifle the loudeſt Calls of Nature, and with a high Hand triumphs over all other Appetites and Inclinations. What Sort of Education now do you think the fitteſt to furniſh and fill young Ladies with this high Eſteem for themſelves and their Reputation, which, whilſt it ſubſiſts and reigns in them, is an ever-watchful and incorruptible Guardian of their Honour? Would you mortify or flatter; leſſen or increaſe in them the Paſſion of Self-liking, in order to preſerve their Chaſtity? In ſhort, which of the Two is it, you would ſtir up and cultivate in them if you could, Humility or Pride?

Hor. I ſhould not try to make them Humble, I own: And now I remember, that in our Third Converſation, ſpeaking of raiſing the Principle of Honour in both Sexes, you gave ſome plauſible Reaſons why * Pride ſhould be more encourag'd in Women than in Men. So much for the Ladies. I ſhall now be glad to hear what you have to add further concerning Honour, as it relates to Men only, and requires Courage. When I took the Freedom to interupt you, you was ſaying Something of Two Hundred Years ago.

Cleo. I was then going to put you in Mind, that Two Hundred Years ago and upward, as all Gentlemen were train'd up to Arms, the Notions of Honour were of great Uſe to them; and it was manifeſt, that never any Thing had been invented before, that was half ſo effectual to create artificial Courage among Military Men. For which Reaſon it was the Intereſt of all Politicians, among the Clergy, as well as the Laity, to cultivate theſe Notions of Honour with the utmoſt Care, and leave no Stone unturn'd to make Every body believe the Exiſtence and Reality of ſuch a Principle;

* Fable of the Bees part 11, p. 126.

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not among Mechanicks, or any of the Vulgar, but in Perſons of high Birth, Knights, and others of Heroick Spirit and exalted Nature. I can eaſily imagine, how, in a credulous, ignorant Age, this might be ſwallow'd and generally receiv'd for Truth; nor is it more difficult to conceive, how illiterate Men and rude Warriours, altogether unacquainted with Human Nature, ſhould be ſo far impoſed upon by ſuch Aſſertions, as to be fully perſuaded, that they were really poſſeſs'd of; and actually animated by ſuch a Principle, conſtantly aſcribing to the Force and Influence of it every Effort and Suggeſtion they felt from the Paſſion of Self-liking. The Idol it ſelf was finely dreſs'd up, made a beautiful Figure, and the Worſhip of it ſeem'd to require Nothing, that was not highly commendable and moſt beneficial to Society. Thoſe who pretended to pay their Adoration to it, and to be true Votaries of Honour, had a hard Taſk to perform. They were to be Brave and yet Courteous, Juſt, Loyal, and the Protectors of Innocence, againſt Malice and Oppreſſion. They were to be the profeſs'd Guardians of the Fair; and chaſte, as well as profound Admirers of the Sex: But above all, they were to be Stanch to

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the Church, implicite Believers, zealous Champions of the Chriſtian Faith, and implacable Enemies to all Infidels and Hereticks.

Hor. I believe, that between Two and Three Hundred Years ago, Bigotry was at the greateſt Height.

Cleo. The Church of *Rome* had, long before that Time, gain'd ſuch an Aſcendant over the Laity, that Men of the higheſt Quality ſtood in Awe of the leaſt Pariſh-Prieſt. This made Superſtition faſhionable; and the moſt reſolute Heroes were not aſhamed to pay a blind Veneration to every Thing which the Clergy was pleaſed to call Sacred. Men had an entire Confidence in the Pope's Power; his bleſſing of Swords, Armours, Colours and Standards; and No body doubted of the Influence, which Saints and Angels had upon Earth, the miraculous Virtue of Relicks, the Reality of Witches and Enchantments, the Black Art, or that Men might be made invulnerable.

Hor. But the Ignorance of thoſe Days notwithſtanding, you believe, that there were Men of that ſtrict Honour, you have been ſpeaking of.

Cleo. Men of Honour, I told you, were required and ſuppoſed to be poſſeſs'd of thoſe Qua-

Qualities; and I believe, that ſeveral endeavour'd to be, and ſome actually were ſuch, as far as Human Frailty would let them; but I believe likewiſe, that there were others, who gain'd the Title, by their Undauntedneſs only, and had but a ſmall Stock of any other Virtue beſides; and that the Number of theſe was always far the greateſt. Courage and Intrepidity always were, and ever will be the grand Characteriſtick of a Man of Honour: It is this Part of the Character only, which it is always in our Power to demonſtrate. The beſt Friend a King has, may want an Opportunity to ſhew his Loyalty: So a Man may be juſt and chaſte, and yet not be able to convince the World that he is ſo; but he may pick a Quarrel, and ſhew, that he dares to Fight when he pleaſes, eſpecially if he converſes with Men of the Sword. Where the Principle of Honour was in high Eſteem, Vanity and Impatience muſt have always prompted the moſt proud and forward to ſeek after Opportunities of Signalizing themſelves, in order to be ſtiled Men of Honour. This would naturally occaſion Quarrelling and Fighting, as it did and had frequently done before the Time I ſpeak of. As Duelling was made a Faſhion, the Point of Ho-

Honour became, of Courſe, a common Topick of Diſcourſe among the beſt bred Men: By this Means the Rules for Quarrelling and Punctilio in Behaviour, which at firſt were very uncertain and precarious, came to be better underſtood, and refin'd upon from Time to Time, till, in the Beginning of the laſt Century, the Senſe of Honour was arrived to ſuch a Degree of Nicety all over *Europe*, eſpecially in *France*, that barely looking upon a Man was often taken for an Affront. The Cuſtom of Duelling, by this, was become ſo univerſal in that Kingdom, that the Judges themſelves thought it diſhonourable to refuſe a Challenge. *Henry* IVth. ſeeing the beſt Blood of *France* ſo often ſacrific'd to this Idol, endeavour'd to put a Stop to it, but was not able; and the ſeveral Edicts made in 1602 and 1609 were fruitleſs. The Reſolutions of Parliament likewiſe, made in the Reign of *Lewis* XIIIth. were as ineffectual: The Firſt Check that was given to Duelling, was in the Minority of *Lewis* XIVth, and from the Method by which it was prevented at laſt, it is evident, that Honour is an Idol, by Human Contrivance, rais'd on the Baſis of Human Pride.

Hor.

Hor. The Method by which a Stop was put to it, was ſtrictly to puniſh and never to pardon Any that either ſent or accepted of Challenges, whether they fought or not.

Cleo. This was not truſted to only. An Edict was publiſh'd in the Year 1651, by which Courts of Honour were erected throughout the Kingdom, with Gentlemen Commiſſioners in every Bailiwick, that were to have Advice of, and immediately to interpoſe in all Differences that might ariſe between Gentlemen. The Difficulty they labour'd under was, that they would aboliſh the Cuſtom of Duelling without parting with the Notions of Honour; deſtroying of which muſt have been certain Ruin to a warlike Nation, that once had received them; and therefore they never deſign'd, that the Worſhip of the Idol ſhould ceaſe, but they only try'd, whether it was not to be ſatisfied with leſs valuable Victims, and other Sacrifices beſides human Blood. In the Year 1653, *Lewis* XIV. ſet forth another Declaration againſt Duels; in which having made ſome Additions to his former Edict, he commands the Marſhals of *France* to draw up a Regulation touching the Satisfactions and Reparations of Honour, which they ſhould

think neceſſary for the ſeveral Sorts of Offences. This Order was immediately obey'd; and nineteen Articles were drawn up and publiſh'd accordingly. In theſe, calling a Man Fool, Coward, or the Like, was puniſh'd with a Month's Impriſonment; and after being releaſed, the Offender was to declare to the Party ſo offended, that he had wrongfully and impertinently injur'd him by outragious Words, which he own'd to be falſe, and aſk'd him to forgive. Giving one the Lie, or threatning to beat him, was two Month's Impriſonment, and the Submiſſion to be made afterwards yet more humble than the foregoing. For Blows, as ſtriking with the Hand, and other Injuries of the ſame Nature, the Offender was to lye in Priſon Six Months, unleſs, at the Requeſt of the offended, half of that Time was chang'd into a pecuniary Mulct, that might not be under Fifteen Hundred Livres, to be paid before he was ſet at Liberty, for the Uſe of the neareſt Hoſpital to the Abode of the offended; after which, the Offender was to ſubmit to the ſame Blows from the offended, and to declare by Word of Mouth, and in Writing, that he had ſtruck him in a Brutiſh Manner, and beg'd him to pardon and forget that Offence.

Hor. What Mortal could ſubmit to ſuch Condeſcenſions?

Cleo. For Caning, or Blows given with a Stick, the Puniſhment was ſtill more ſevere; and the Offender was to beg pardon upon his Knees.

Hor. I ſhould have no great Opinion of a Man's Honour, who would not chuſe to Die rather than comply with ſuch Demands.

Cleo. Several thought as you do, and were hang'd for their Pains. But what Need a Man come to thoſe Extremes, when he could have Satisfaction for any real Offence that might provoke him? For the Articles took Notice of, and made ample Proviſions againſt all Manner of Injuries, from the moſt trifling Offences to the higheſt Outrages, and were very ſevere againſt all thoſe that ſhould refuſe to ſubmit to the Penalties impoſed. The Marſhals of *France* remain'd the Supreme Judges in all theſe Matters; and under them acted the Governours and Lieutenants General of Provinces, in whoſe Abſence the Gentlemen Commiſſioners in every Bailiwick, having Power to call the Officers of Juſtice to their Aſſiſtance, were to take all proviſional Care imaginable; ſo that no Lawyers or Mechanicks

had a Hand in compoſing any Differences concerning the Point of Honour.

Hor. All theſe Things, we'll ſay, are wiſely contriv'd; but in complaining firſt there is a Meanneſs, which a Man of Honour cannot ſtoop to.

Cleo. That the Inſtinct of Sovereignty will always bid Men revenge their own Wrongs, and do Juſtice to themſelves, is certain. But I wanted to ſhew you the Equivalent, that wiſe Men ſubſtituted in the Room of Dueling, and which Men of unqueſtion'd Honour took up with. The Scheme was contrived by Men of tried Valour, whoſe Example is always of great Weight: Beſides, from the Nature of the Remedies that were applied to the Evil, it muſt always follow, that thoſe who had given the greateſt Proofs of their Courage, would be the moſt ready to ſubſcribe to thoſe Articles.

Hor. In our laſt Converſation but one you told me, that * all Laws pointed at, and tally'd with ſome Frailty or Paſſion in our Nature; pray, what is it that theſe Laws of Honour tally with?

Cleo. It is ſelf-evident, that they point at Self-

* Fable of the Bees, part II. page 318.

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liking and the Inſtinct of Sovereignty. But what is ſingular in theſe Laws is, that in their Operation they are the reverſe of all others.

Hor. I don't underſtand you.

Cleo. All other Precepts and Commandments are viſibly labouring to reſtrain the Paſſions, and cure the Imperfections of our Nature; but theſe Regulations of Honour are endeavouring to prevent Miſchief, by ſoothing and flattering the Frailties they point at. In Offences againſt a Man's Honour, Pardon is not aſk'd of God or the King, but of him who receiv'd the Affront. It is he, therefore, whom all the Addreſs and Homage are paid to: He is the Idol that is kneel'd to, and the only Sovereign that can forgive the Treſpaſſes committed againſt himſelf. The Puniſhment of the firſt Aggreſſor, you ſee, is altogether a Compliment to the Perſon offended, whoſe Wrath the Law is ſo far from blaming, that it juſtifies it, and gives him an Opportunity of indulging it by the Indignity it puts upon the Offender. The real Miſchief is not apprehended from the Offender, but the Perſon offended; and therefore it is him, whom the Law coaxes and wheedles into good Humour, by offering him a Reparation that ſhall be

equally honourable with what he would chuſe, tho' leſs prejudicial to the Society. What the Law promiſes is a Tribute to the ſame Paſſion which he wants to gratify, a Sacrifice to the Idol which he himſelf adores. Should Any one perſonate theſe Laws, and, repreſenting the Sentiments of thoſe who made them, ſpeak to a Man of Honour, who had receiv'd an Affront, an Officer of the Guards, we'll ſay, who had been call'd Fool by his Equal, the Purport of the Diſcourſe would be this: You are very much in the Right, Sir, to be highly incenſed againſt the Man who dared to call you Fool, you that are a Man of Honour, to whom, as ſuch, the whole World ought to pay the higheſt Eſteem. You have not only an undoubted Right to do your Self Juſtice, and revenge the Affront that has been given you; but there is likewiſe ſuch a Neceſſity of your reſenting it, that if you could tamely put up the Injury you have receiv'd, and neglect demanding Satisfaction, you would deſerve to be branded with Ignominy, and all Men of Honour would juſtly refuſe ever to converſe with you for the future. But the Perſon, whom you have this Affair with, being likewiſe a Man of Honour, it is greatly to be fear'd, that upon your

your demanding Satisfaction of him, a Battle will enſue, which, between two Perſons who value their Honours a Thouſand Times more than their Lives, will probably be fatal to one, if not to both; you are therefore earneſtly deſired by the King himſelf, that for his Sake you would make ſome Alteration in the Manner of taking that Satisfaction which you ought to receive; and the Marſhals of *France* have not only given it under their Hands, that the Equivalents, which they have propoſed for Fighting, will be as entire a Reparation to your Honour as can be obtain'd by Arms; but moreover they have promiſed and engaged their Honours, that in Caſes of Affronts they will take up and content themſelves with the ſame Equivalents, and on all Occaſions ſubmit to the ſame Regulations, which you are now deſired to follow. And that it may appear, how highly reaſonable this Requeſt is, you are likewiſe deſired to take the following Remonſtrance into your Conſideration: That the Valour and Steadineſs of Men of Honour are the grand Support of all States and Kingdoms, is a Truth not to be denied; and that not only the Peace and Tranquility, and all the Bleſſings we enjoy, but likewiſe the King's

Crown and Safety would be precarious without them, is as unqueſtionable. For this Reaſon all wiſe Princes, Magiſtrates and Governours, will ever take all imaginable Care, on the one Hand, to cultivate and encourage the moſt noble Principle of Honour, and, on the other, to encreaſe the Numbers of the worthy Profeſſors of it, by favouring and on all Occaſions ſhewing them the moſt tender Affection, as well as higheſt Eſteem. It is eaſy then to be imagin'd, that a Monarch, who loves his People, and has the Intereſt of his Nation at Heart, muſt be ſenſibly afflicted to ſee it become a common Practice for ſuch valuable Men to deſtroy one another, and behold that Bravery and Spirit, which ſhould only be made Uſe of againſt the Enemies of the Country, hourly employ'd and laviſh'd away in private Quarrels, that can have no other Tendency than the weakning of the Kingdom, and which, if ſuffer'd to go on, muſt compleat its Ruin.

Hor. You make theſe Laws ſpeak very notably.

Cleo. I have ſaid Nothing but what is certainly imply'd in them. Every Man in *France* knew, that the chief Motive of all thoſe Edicts againſt Duelling, was the Loſs of the brave

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Men that was ſuſtain'd by that Cuſtom. The Sinfulneſs of it was the leaſt Conſideration.

Hor. There, I believe, you wrong them, for I have ſeen ſome of theſe Edicts, where Dueling is call'd an Antichriſtian Practice, which God was highly offended at.

Cleo. In wording of the Edicts, indeed, ſome ſuch Thing was put in for Form's Sake; but the Regulations themſelves, by which the Men of Honour were to walk, were openly Antichriſtian; and in ſome Caſes, inſtead of Teaching Men to forgive thoſe that had treſpas'd againſt them, they obliged and forced the Offended to ſhew their Reſentment, tho' they would rather not, and deſired to be excuſed.

Hor. Where the Affront was very heinous, I know what you ſay is true. But you ſet theſe Things in a ſtrange Light. I can make the ſame Gloſſes upon our Laws, which oblige me to proſecute a Man that has robb'd me, if I can catch him, whether I will or not; and he ſhall be hang'd, tho' I forgive him the Injury, and even would beg his Life.

Cleo. There is a vaſt Difference between the two Caſes, a Robbery, and an Affront: No body hinders you from forgiving a Man that robb'd you; but notwithſtanding your par-

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doning him, he is puniſh'd for acting againſt the Laws; therefore his Offence is againſt the King, who is the Guardian and Superintendant of them. And No body but the King can pardon the Treſpaſſes that are committed againſt his Crown and Dignity. Whoever robs you, muſt be hang'd, becauſe he robb'd, not becauſe he robb'd YOU in particular: Tho' you are bound to proſecute him for Robbing you, yet the Injury is reckon'd as done to the Publick; and you become a Criminal your Self, if you connive at his Eſcape, tho' he reſtor'd to you what he had robb'd you of. But in the Caſe of an Affront the Injury is reckon'd to be done to him only who receiv'd it. His Anger, as I ſaid before, is thought to be juſt, and his Reſentment reaſonable, till an ample Satisfaction be made him; therefore it is He who is to be appeas'd, and He only who is to be applied to. The Laws that were compiled by the Marſhals of *France*, don't pretend to mend the Heart, and lay no greater Reſtraint on the Spirit of Revenge, than Matrimony does on the Deſire of Procreation; on the Contrary, they flatter the Frailty, and are adminiſtring to the Haughtineſs of the offended: They are ſo far from denying him his Demands

mands, or refuſing to give him Satisfaction for the Affront, that they appoint it by Authority; in the ordering of which they make ſuch ample Proviſions for the Gratification of his Pride, as no reaſonable Man could ever think of without bluſhing. The only Thing they oblige him to is, that he ſhall take the Satisfaction in ſuch a Manner, as ſhall be moſt ſafe to himſelf, and leaſt detrimental to the Publick. Now if you will conſider firſt, that thoſe who made theſe Regulations were Men of undoubted Honour, who hourly feeling the Force of it within themſelves, were perfectly well acquainted with the Principle which it is built upon; and ſecondly, that the profound Humility of the Offender, and his aſking Pardon of the offended, are two main Points in the repairing of Honour, neceſſary *poſtulata*, without which thoſe knowing Judges thought it impoſſible, that an Affront could be forgiven: If, I ſay, you'll conſider theſe two Things, you'll ſee plainly, what Paſſion in Human Nature it is, which thoſe Laws of Honour tally'd with, and likewiſe that it is true, what I have aſſerted of them, that inſtead of reproving, curbing, or diminiſhing the Frailty that is offenſive, which ſeems to be

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the Intention of all other Laws, their Aim is to prevent Miſchief and do Service to the Civil Society, by approving of, cheriſhing, and indulging that very Paſſion, from which the Evil they would prevent can only proceed.

Hor. You think thoſe Regulations were effectual, and yet you ſeem to diſlike them.

Cleo. I diſlike them becauſe they are deſtructive to Religion; and if a Miniſter of the Goſpel was to diſſuade and deter Men from Duelling, he would do it in quite another Manner. By a Miniſter of the Goſpel I don't mean a Philoſophizing Divine, or a polite Preacher, but a ſincere Follower of the Apoſtles, a downright Chriſtian. He would, in the Firſt Place, inſiſt upon it, that Forgiving of Injuries was a Chriſtian Duty never to be diſpens'd with; becauſe it is made the Condition on which we are taught to beg Pardon for our own Offences. In the Second, he would demonſtrate, that no Man is ever to revenge himſelf, how highly and how atrociouſly ſoever he might have been injured. If ever he heard of a Man's ſending a Challenge for having been call'd Fool, or other verbal Injuries, he would reprove his Frowardneſs and Want of Temper, for reſenting ſuch Trifles as the Laws of his

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Country thought it not worthy to take Notice of. He would appeal to his Reaſon, and aſk him, whether he could think, that the Affront he complain'd of, was a ſufficient Cauſe to take away a Man's Life. He would repreſent to him the Heinouſneſs of Murder, God's expreſs Command againſt it; his Juſtice, his Wrath, his Vengeance when provok'd. But if all theſe could not divert the Dueller from his Purpoſe, he would attack his ſtubborn Heart in its inmoſt Receſſes, and forget Nothing of what I told you on the Subject in our Second and Third Converſation. He would recommend to him the Fable of the *Bees*, and, like that, he'd diſſect and lay open to him the Principle of Honour, and ſhew him, how diametrically oppoſite the Worſhip of that Idol was to the Chriſtian Religion; the Firſt conſiſting in openly cheriſhing and feeding that very Frailty in our Nature, which the latter ſtrictly commands us with all our Might to conquer and deſtroy. Having convinced him of the ſubſtantial Difference and Contrariety between theſe Two Principles, he would diſplay to him, on the one Hand, the Vanity of Earthly Glory, and the Folly of Coveting the Applauſe of a SinfulWorld; and, on the other,

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the Certainty of a Future State, and the Tranſcendency of everlaſting Happineſs over every Thing that is periſhable. From ſuch Remonſtrances as theſe the good, pious Man would take an Opportunity of exhorting him to a Chriſtian Self-denial, and the Practice of real Virtue, and he would earneſtly endeavour to make him ſenſible of the Peace of Conſcience and ſolid Comforts that are to be found in Meekneſs and Humility, Patience, and an entire Reſignation to the Will of God.

Hor. How long, pray, do you intend to go on with this Cant?

Cleo. If I am to perſonate a Chriſtian Divine, who is a ſincere Believer, you muſt give me Leave to ſpeak his Language.

Hor. But if a Man had really ſuch an Affair upon his Hands, and he knew the Perſon, he had to do with, to be a reſolute Man that underſtood the Sword, do you think he would have Patience or be at Leiſure to hearken to all that puritanical Stuff, which you have been heaping together? Do you think (for that is the Point) it would have any Influeuce over his Actions?

Cleo. If he believ'd the Goſpel, and conſequently future Rewards and Puniſhments, and he

he likewiſe acted conſiſtently with what he believ'd, it would put an entire Stop to all, and it would certainly hinder him from ſending or accepting of Challenges, or ever engaging in any Thing relating to a Duel.

Hor. Pray now, among all the Gentlemen of your Acquaintance, and ſuch as you your Self ſhould care to converſe with, how many are there, do you think, on whom the Thoughts of Religion would have that Effect?

Cleo. A great many, I hope.

Hor. You can hardly forbear laughing, I ſee, when you ſay it; and I am ſure, you your Self would have no Value for a Man whom you ſhould ſee tamely put up a groſs Affront: Nay, I have ſeen and heard Parſons and Biſhops themſelves laugh at, and ſpeak with Contempt of pretended Gentlemen, that had ſuffer'd themſelves to be ill treated without reſenting it.

Cleo. What you ſay of my ſelf, I own to be true; and I believe the ſame of others, Clergymen as well as Laymen. But the Reaſon why Men, who bear Affronts with Patience, are ſo generally deſpiſed is, becauſe Every body imagines, that their Forbearance does not proceed from a Motive of Religion, but a Principle of Cowardice. What chiefly induces

duces us to believe this, is the Knowledge we have of our ſelves: We are conſcious within of the little Power which Chriſtianity has over our Hearts, and the ſmall Influence it has over our Actions. Finding our own Incapacity of ſubduing ſtrong Paſſions, but by the Help of others that are more violent, we judge of others in the ſame Manner: And therefore when we ſee a vain, worldly Man gain ſuch a Conqueſt over his known and well eſtabliſh'd Pride, we preſently ſuſpect it to be a Sacrifice which he makes to his Fear; not the Fear of God, or Puniſhment in another World, but the Fear of Death, the ſtrongeſt Paſſion in our Nature, the Fear that his Adverſary, the Man who has affronted him, will kill him, if he fights him. What confirms us in this Opinion is, that Poltrons ſhew no greater Piety or Devotion than other People, but live as voluptuouſly and indulge their Pleaſures as much, at leaſt, as any other of the *beau monde*. Whereas a good Chriſtian is all of a Piece; his Life is uniform; and whoever ſhould ſcruple to ſend or to accept of a Challenge for the Love of God, or but from a Fear of his Vengeance, depend upon it, he would have that ſame Fear before his Eyes on other Occaſions likewiſe

likewiſe: And it is impoſſible that a Religious Principle, which is once of that Force, that it can make a Man chuſe to be deſpis'd by the World, rather than he would offend God, ſhould not only not be conſpicuous throughout his Behaviour, but likewiſe never influences the Reſt of his Actions at any other Time.

Hor. From all this it is very plain, that there are very few ſincere Chriſtians.

Cleo. I don't think ſo, as to Faith and Theory; and I am perſuaded, that there are great Numbers in all Chriſtian Countries, who ſincerely believe the Bible to be the Word of God, and the old as well as new Teſtament to be a Revelation from Heaven: But as to Works and Practice I am of your Opinion; and I not only believe, that there are very few ſincere and real Chriſtians in their Lives and Converſation, for that is a difficult Task; but I believe likewiſe, that there are very Few who are ſincere in endeavouring to be ſo, or even in deſiring to be real Chriſtians. But this is no Argument againſt Chriſtianity, or the Reaſonableneſs of its Doctrine.

Hor. I don't ſay it is. But as the Principle of Honour, whatever Origin it had, teaches Men to be juſt in all their Dealings, and true

to their Engagements, and there are conſiderable Numbers in every civiliz'd Nation, who really take Delight in this Principle, and in all their Actions are ſway'd and govern'd by it, muſt you not allow, that ſuch a Principle, let it be owing to Education, to Flattery, to Pride, or what you pleaſe, is more uſeful to Society than the beſt Doctrine in the World, which None can live up to, and but Few endeavour to follow?

Cleo. Tho' thoſe who are deem'd to be Men of Honour, are far from being all really virtuous, yet I can't diſprove, that the Principle of Honour, ſuch as it is, does not fully as much Good to Society as Chriſtianity, as it is practiſed; I ſay, to Society, and only in reſpect to Temporals; but it is altogether deſtructive as to another World: And as the greateſt Happineſs upon Earth to a good Chriſtian, is a firm Belief, and well grounded Hope, that he ſhall be Happy in Heaven, ſo a Man who believes the Goſpel, and pretends to value everlaſting Happineſs beyond any Thing of ſhorter Duration, muſt act inconſiſtently with himſelf, unleſs he adheres to the Precepts of Chriſtianity, and at the ſame Time explodes the Principle of Honour, which is the very Reverſe of it.

Hor.

Hor. I own, that in the Light you have put them, they ſeem to be, as you ſay, diametrically oppoſite.

Cleo. You ſee, that thoſe who act from a Principle of Religion, fairly attack the Heart, and would aboliſh Duelling and all other Miſchief, by reſtraining, conquering, and deſtroying of Pride, Anger, and the Spirit of Revenge; but theſe Paſſions are ſo neceſſary to Society for the Advancement of Dominion and worldly Glory, that the Great and Ambitious could not do without them in a Warlike Nation. Thoſe who compiled in *France* the Regulations we have been ſpeaking of, were well aware of this: They judged from what they felt within, and knew full well, that take away Pride, and you ſpoil the Soldier; for it is as impoſſible to ſtrip a Man of that Paſſion, and preſerve in him his Principle of Honour, as you can leave him his Bed after you have taken away the Feathers. A peaceful Diſpoſition and Humility are not Qualities more promiſing in the Day of Battle, than a contrite Heart and broken Spirit are Preparatives for Fighting. In theſe Regulations, ſo often mention'd, it is plainly to be ſeen, what Pains and Care were taken, not to arraign, or lay the leaſt

Blame upon the Principle of Honour, tho' the Kingdom groan'd under a Calamity which viſibly aroſe from, and could be the Effect of no other Cauſe than that very Principle.

Hor. All the Fault, in my Opinion, ought to be laid on the Tyranny of Cuſtom; and therefore the Marſhals of *France* were in the Right not to depreciate or run the leaſt Riſque of deſtroying or leſſening the Principle of Honour, which, I am confident, has been a greater Tie upon Men than any Religion whatever.

Cleo. It is impoſſible that there ſhould be a greater Tie, a ſtronger Barrier againſt Injuſtice, than the Chriſtian Religion, where it is ſincerely believ'd, and Men live up to that Belief. But if you mean, that the Number of Men, who have ſtuck to the Principle of Honour, and ſtrictly follow'd the Dictates of it, has been greater than that of Chriſtians, who, with equal Strictneſs, have obey'd the Precepts of the Goſpel; if, I ſay, you mean this, I don't know how to contradict you. But I thought, that I had given you a very good Reaſon for that, when I ſhew'd you, that in the Notions of Honour there are many Allurements to draw-in vain worldly Men, which the Chriſtian Religion has not; and that the Severity

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of this is more mortifying and diſagreable to Human Nature, than the Self-denial which is required in the other. There are other Reaſons beſides, which I have likewiſe hinted at more than once. A Man may believe the Torments of Hell, and ſtand in great Dread of them, whilſt they are the Object of his ſerious Reflection; but he does not always think of them, nor will they always make the ſame Impreſſion upon him, when he does. But in worſhiping Honour, a Man adores himſelf, which is ever dear to him, never abſent, never out of Sight. A Man is eaſily induced to reverence what he loves ſo entirely.

Hor. The Fear of Shame cannot reſtrain Men in Things that are done in Secret, and can never be known. Men of Honour are true to their Truſt, where it is impoſſible they ſhould be diſcover'd.

Cleo. That is not univerſally true; tho', without doubt, there are many ſuch. The grand Characteriſtick of a Man of Honour, at leaſt of Modern Honour, is, that he takes no Affront without reſenting it, and dares fight Any body without Exception; and ſuch there are that have not common Honeſty, and are noted Sharpers. Beſides, by Education and converſing

ſing conſtantly with Men of Honour, and Some of real Honour and Probity, Perſons may contract a ſtrong Averſion to every Thing that is diſhonourable. The moſt effectual Method to breed Men of Honour, is to inſpire them with lofty and romantick Sentiments concerning the Excellency of their Nature, and the ſuperlative Merit there is in being a Man of Honour. The higher you can raiſe a Man's Pride, the more refin'd you may render his Notions of Honour.

Hor. The Subſtance of this you have ſaid twenty Times; but I don't underſtand your adoring of one's ſelf.

Cleo. I'll endeavour to explain it to you. I am acquainted with Men of Honour, who ſeem to have a very ſlender Belief, if any, of future Rewards and Puniſhments, and whom yet I believe to be very juſt Men. Of theſe there are ſeveral, whom I could entirely confide in, and whoſe Words I would much rather take in Buſineſs of Moment than any Biſhop's, whom I knew Nothing of. What is it that keeps theſe Men in Awe? What keeps them true to their Word, and ſteady to their Engagements, tho' they ſhould be Loſers by it?

Hor.

Hor. I don't know any Thing but the Principle of Honour, that is deeply rooted in them.

Cleo. Still the Thing, whatever it be, which a Man loves, fears, eſteems, and conſequently reverences, is not without, but within himſelf. The Object then of Reverence, and the Worſhiper, who pays it, meeting and remaining in the ſame Perſon, may not ſuch a Perſon be juſtly ſaid to adore himſelf: Nay, it ſeems to be the common Opinion, that this is true; for unleſs ſome Sort of Divinity was ſuppoſed to reſide in Men of Honour, their affirming and denying Things upon that Principle could never be thought an Equivalent for an Oath, as to Some it is allow'd to be. Pray, when a Man aſſerts a Thing upon his Honour, is it not a Kind of Swearing by himſelf, as others do by God? If it was not ſo, and there was ſuppoſed to be the leaſt Danger, that Men, endued with the Principle of Honour, could deceive or prevaricate, I would fain know, why it ſhould be binding and acquieſc'd in.

Hor. You may ſay the ſame of the Quakers; and that there muſt be ſuppoſed to be ſome Divinity in them, that their ſolemn Affirmation ſhould be thought equivalent to an Oath.

Cleo. That's quite another Thing. The Quakers take all Oaths whatever, whether they are made before a Magiſtrate or otherwiſe, to be ſinful, and for that Reaſon they refuſe to Swear at all. But as it is their avow'd Opinion, that a wilful notorious Lie is not leſs Criminal in the Sight of Heaven than we take Perjury to be, it is evident, that in giving their Teſtimony, they ſtake their Salvation equally with other People that make Oath. Whereas thoſe who, with us, are credited upon their Honour, have no ſuch Scruples, and make Oath themſelves on other Occaſions: The Reaſon therefore why they don't try Criminals and pronounce their Judgment upon Oath, as other Judges and Juries do, is not, that they think appealing to God or Swearing by his Name to be Sinful, which is the Caſe of the Quakers; but becauſe they are ſuppoſed to be altogether as credible without it, as if they did. And if there was not ſome Adoration, ſome Worſhip, which Men of Honour pay to themſelves, the Principle they act from could not have produced the viſible Effects it has in ſo many different Nations.

Hor. You have ſaid ſeveral Things which I cannot diſprove, and ſome of them, I own,

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are probable enough; but you are like to leave me as you found me. The Principle of Honour has loſt no Ground in my Eſteem; and I ſhall continue to act from it as I did before. But ſince you imagine to have ſo plainly proved, that we are Idols to our Selves, and that Honour is diametrically oppoſite to Chriſtianity, I wonder you don't call it the Beaſt in the *Apocalypſe*, and ſay, that it is the Whore of *Babylon*. This would be a notable Conceit, and ſuit Papiſts as well as Proteſtants; nay, I fancy, that the Colour of the Whore, and her Thirſt after Blood, might be better accounted for from Duelling, than any other Way that has been tried yet.

Cleo. The Revelations of St. *John* are above my Comprehenſion; and I ſhall never laugh at Myſteries for not underſtanding them.

Hor. What you ſay of Myſteries, I think, ought to be more juſtly applied to the Principle of Honour, which we do underſtand; for whatever it may be derived from, the Advantages the Civil Society receives from it, both in Peace and War, are ſo many and ſo manifeſt, that the Uſefulneſs of it ought to exempt and preſerve it from being ridicul'd. I hate to hear a Man talk of its being more or leſs portable,

table, the melting of it over again, and reducing it to a new Standard.

Cleo. I know, you diſlike this in the Fable of the *Bees*; but if you'll examine into what you have read there, you'll find, that my Friend has ridicul'd Nothing but what deſerves it. There is certainly a great Difference between the Men of Honour in former Ages and many of thoſe, who now-a-days aſſume the Title. A Man in whom Juſtice, Integrity, Temperance and Chaſtity are join'd with Fortitude, is worthy of the higheſt Eſteem; but that a debauch'd Fellow, who runs in every Tradesman's Debt, and thinks himſelf not obliged to pay any Thing but what is borrow'd or loſt at Play, ſhould claim the ſame Regard from us, for no other Reaſon than becauſe he dares to Fight, is very unreaſonable.

Hor. But is he ſerious, when he ſpeaks of the Men of ancient Honour, of whom he thinks *Don Quixot* to have been the laſt?

Cleo. When the Romance-Writers had carried the Proweſs and Atchievements of their Heroes to an incredible Pitch, was it not ridiculous to ſee Men in their Senſes, not only believe thoſe Extravagancies in good Earneſt, but likewiſe endeavour to imitate thoſe fabu-

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lous Exploits, and ſet about copying after thoſe imaginary Patterns? For it was that which *Cervantes* expoſed in *Don Quixot.*

Hor. In the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Century, the *Spaniards* were the beſt Soldiers in the World; they ſhew'd themſelves on many Emergencies to be a grave and wiſe Nation, and had many real Patterns of ſtrict Honour and great Virtue among them. Things are as often over-done in Satyrs as they are in Panegyricks; and the Likeneſs of a *Caricatura* is no more to be truſted to than that of the moſt flattering Pencil.

Cleo. I ſhall always bear the higheſt Eſteem for Men of ſtrict Honour and real Virtue, and will never ridicule what is approved of by Cuſtom, and the Conſent of ſeveral Ages has render'd valuable; but no Title or Dignity, no Name or Diſtinction can be ſo honourable, or ſo eminent, that a ſerious Enquirer may not have Leave to trace it to the Bottom. I have acknowledged, that the Word Honour, in its firſt and genuine Senſe, is as ancient as the oldeſt Language in the World. As to my Conjecture concerning the ſame Word, as it ſignifies a Principle which Men act from, I leave it entirely to your Judgment: But whatever the

the Origin may be of either, it is certain, that whatever the Words Honour and Honourable are join'd with, added or applied to, there is a plain Deſign in them of pleaſing and gratifying thoſe it concerns, on Account of the Paſſion of Self-liking, and a palpable Tendency to humour, approve of, or encreaſe the good Opinion Man has of himſelf: As you'll find, on the Contrary, that in the Words Diſhonour, Shame, Ignominy, and whatever is diſhonourable, there is an Intention, or Something imply'd, to diſpleaſe and mortify thoſe it concerns, on Account of that ſame Paſſion of Self-liking, and an Endeavour to leſſen, contradict or deſtroy Self-Eſteem, which is that good Opinion which Man has of himſelf from Nature.

Hor. That the Words Honour and Shame are either literally made Uſe of, as you ſay, or metaphorically applied to other Creatures or Things inanimate, I believe: I allow likewiſe, that the Principle of Honour is found in no Breaſt that is not poſſeſs'd of Self-liking to an eminent Degree; but I don't think that a Fault.

Cleo. The only Fault I have found with the Principle of Honour, is, it's claſhing with the Chriſtian Religion. I have told you the Rea-

Reaſons, why the Church of *Rome* thought it her Intereſt to reconcile them, and make People believe, that they did not interfere with one another. She has always conſulted Human Nature, and ever join'd gay Shew and Pomp, as I have hinted before, to Superſtition; well knowing, that, as to keep Man under and in Subjection, you muſt work upon his Fear, ſo, to make him act with Alacrity, and obey with Pleaſure, where Lucre is out of Queſtion, you muſt flatter his Pride. It is from this Policy of hers, that all Names of Dignity and Diſtinction among Chriſtians, as Earl, Baron, Duke, Marquis, &c. had originally their Riſe as Hereditary Titles. To the ſame have been owing all the various Ceremonies of Inſtitutions and Inſtalments; and Coronations, as well as Inthronizations. Of the Orders of Knighthood, and the vaſt Multiplicity of them, I have ſpoke already.

Hor. You give more to the Church of *Rome* than her Due: Moſt Countries in *Chriſtendom* have Orders of Knighthood peculiar to themſelves, and of which it is evident, that they were inſtituted by their own Sovereigns.

Cleo. But look into the Ceremonial of thoſe Inſtitutions, and the great Share the Clergy has

has in moſt of them, and you'll eaſily ſee, what Stock they ſprung from. And tho' the Sovereign, in every Country, is deem'd to be the Fountain of Honour, yet the Sovereigns themſelves had their Titles, as well as Coats of Arms, from the Popes; nor had they ever any Enſign of Honour, Power or Authority, which they could depend upon, unleſs it had firſt been granted, or confirm'd and ratify'd, by the See of *Rome*.

Hor. I take the *Inſignia*, which the Proconſuls and Proprietors had in the different Provinces of the *Roman* Empire, and which *Pancirolus* has wrote of ſo amply, to have been much after the Nature of Coats of Arms.

Cleo. Thoſe *Inſignia* belong'd to the Office; and a Governour could only make Uſe of them, whilſt he was in it: But hereditary Coats of Arms, that were given to particular Men or Societies, by Way of Reward for Services perform'd, were never known; and Heraldry it Self had no Exiſtence, before the Pope's Supremacy had been acknowledged by the Chriſtian World. And if we conſider the fine Opportunities, which the moſt idle and indolent, the moſt inſignificant and unworthy of the Society, often meet with from this Invention of

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valuing themſelves upon Actions that were perform'd ſeveral Ages before they were born, and beſpeak a Merit which they know in their Conſciences that they are deſtitute of; if, I ſay, we conſider what I have now mention'd, we ſhall be forc'd to confeſs, that, of all Arts and Sciences, Heraldry has been the moſt effectual to ſtir up and excite in Men the Paſſion of Self-liking, on the ſmalleſt Foundation; and daily Experience teaches us, that Perſons of Education and Politeneſs can taſte no Pleaſure in any Thing at Home or Abroad, at Church or the Play-Houſe, where the Gratification of this Paſſion is entirely excluded. Of all the Shews and Solemnities that are exhibited at *Rome*, the greateſt and moſt expenſive, next to a Jubilee, is the Canonization of a Saint. For one that has never ſeen it, the Pomp is incredible. The Statelineſs of the Proceſſions, the Richneſs of Veſtments and ſacred Utenſils that are diſplay'd, the fine Painting and Sculpture that are expos'd at that Time, the Variety of good Voices and Muſical Inſtruments that are heard, the Profuſion of Wax-Candles, the Magnificence which the Whole is perform'd with, and the vaſt Concourſe of People, that is occaſion'd by thoſe

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Solemnities, are all ſuch, that it is impoſſible to deſcribe them.

Hor. It is aſtoniſhing, I own; but what would you infer from them?

Cleo. I would deſire you to obſerve, how vaſtly different ſome of the Ends and Purpoſes are, that Canonizations may be made to ſerve at the ſame Time. It is pretended, in the Firſt Place, that they are perform'd to do Juſtice and pay Veneration to the Memory of thoſe Holy Perſons: Secondly, that by Men's worſhiping them, they may be induced, among the Reſt of the Saints, to intercede with God for the the Sins of their Votaries: And laſtly, becauſe it is to be hoped, that among ſuch Numbers as aſſiſt at thoſe Solemnities, there are many who will be affected by them, and endeavour to imitate, in their Lives, the holy Examples that are ſet before them: For there is no Time more ſeaſonable to ſtir Men up to Devotion and Sentiments of Piety, than when Rapture and high Admiration have been rais'd in them firſt.

Hor. Beſides Canonizations keep up the Reputation of the *Roman* Catholick Faith; for the new Saints, that are made from Time to Time, are always freſh Witneſſes, that Miracles

racles are not ceas'd, and conſequently that the Church of *Rome* continues to be the ſame Church which *Chriſt* and his Apoſtles firſt eſtabliſh'd.

Cleo. You are in the Right; and whilſt we conſider and give Credit to thoſe Pretences, the Deſign muſt ſeem to be religious; and every *Roman* Catholick, who is firm in his Belief, is obliged to think, that whatever Coſt is beſtow'd upon Canonizations, no Money could be laid out better. But if we mind, on the other Side, the ſtrong Sollicitations of the great Men, that either are, or pretend to be the Relations of the venerable Perſon, whoſe Holineſs they vouch for; the vaſt Pains that are taken, the Intrigues that are carried on for Years together, to procure this high Favour of the Sacred College; and when it is obtain'd, what an Honour it is to the whole Family; the Viſits that are paid from all Parts to every Rich Man that belongs to it, and the Compliments that are made on Account of it; beſides the Privileges they receive from it ever after; If, I ſay, we mind theſe Things on the other Side, we ſhall find, that in the Motives from which Men ſue for this Honour, there is not a Grain of Religion to an Ounce of

Pride, and that what ſeems to be a Solemnity to celebrate the Sanctity of the Dead, is in Reality a Stratagem of the Church to gratify the Ambition of the Living. The Church of *Rome* has never made a Step without Regard to her Temporal Intereſt, and an After-Thought on her Succeſſors. *Luther* and *Calvin*, and ſome Others of the chief Adverſaries of *Rome*, were Men of great Parts, that have gain'd themſelves Immortal Names; but it muſt be confeſs'd, that they rais'd themſelves altogether at the Expence of their Brethren. They gave up both the Patrimony and Dominion of the Church, and made Preſents of them to the Secular Powers, that would eſpouſe their reſpective Cauſes, and eſtabliſh their Doctrines; by which, and the deſtroying of Purgatory, they not only ſtript the Clergy of their Wealth and Power for the preſent, but likewiſe took away the Means by which, one Day or other, it might have been poſſible for their Succeſſors to retrieve them. It is well for the Proteſtant Cauſe, that the Multitude can't hear or know the Wiſhes, that are made in Secret by many of the Clergy, nor the hearty Ejaculations, which the Men of Spirit among them are often ſending after the Memory of the

the firſt Reformers, for having left their Order in that Pickle, and almoſt at the Mercy of the Laity, after they had been made dependent on the Clergy. If thoſe pious Leaders had underſtood, or at leaſt conſulted Human Nature, they would have known, that ſtrict Lives and Auſterity of Manners don't go by Inheritance, and muſt have foreſeen, that as ſoon as the Zeal of the Reformation ſhould begin to cool both the Clergy and the Laity would relax in their Morals; and conſequently, that their Succeſſors, after Two or Three Generations, would make wretched Figures, if they were ſtill to continue to preach Chriſtianity without Deceit or Evaſions, and pretend to live conformably to the Rules of it: If they had but reflected on what had happen'd in the Infancy of their Religion, they muſt have eaſily foreſeen what I ſay.

Hor. What is it that happen'd then?

Cleo. That Chriſt and his Apoſtles taught by Example as well as Precepts the Practice of Humility and the Contempt of Riches; to renounce the Pomp and Vanity of the World, and mortify the Fleſh, is certain: And that this was ſtriking at the very Fundamentals of Human Nature, is as certain. This could

only be perform'd by Men preternaturally aſſiſted; and therefore the Founders of Chriſtianity being gone, it could not be expected, that the ſame Auſterity of Life and Self-denial ſhould be continued among the Succeſſors of them, as ſoon as the Miniſtry of the Goſpel became a Calling, that Men were brought up to for a Livelihood; and conſidering how eſſential thoſe mortifying Principles are to Chriſtianity, it is not eaſy to conceive, how the one could be made ſtill to ſubſiſt, when the other ſhould ceaſe to be. But Nothing ſeems more impracticable than that the Goſpel, in which thoſe Principles are evidently taught, ſhould ever be turn'd into an inexhauſtible Fund of Worldly Comforts, Gain, Honour, and Authority; yet this has been perform'd by the Skill and Induſtry of the Architects, who have built that Maſter-Piece of Human Policy, the Church of *Rome*. They have treated Religion as if it was a Manufacture, and the Church a Set of Workmen, Labourers and Artificers, of different Employments, that all contribute and cooperate to produce one entire Fabrick. In the great Variety of their Religious Houſes, you have all the Severity of Manners and Rigour of Diſcipline, which

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the Goſpel requires, improved upon. There you have perpetual Chaſtity, and Virgins wedded to Chriſt: There is Abſtinence and Faſting; there is Mortifying of the Fleſh, Watching, Praying, the Contempt of Money and Worldly Honour; a literal Retirement from the World, and every Thing you can aſk for, relating to Self-denial, as to Carnal Enjoyments and the renouncing of Pomp and Vanity, at leaſt to all outward Appearance. When Men ſee that Strictneſs of Morals, and that Chriſtian Self-denial, which are ſo manifeſtly taught in the Goſpel, own'd by the Clergy, and ſome where or other actually comply'd with, they will eaſily give Ear to any Thing that is ſaid to them beſides. This grand Point concerning the Auſterity of Life, and mortifying the Fleſh, being literally underſtood, and acknowledged by the Clergy to be ſuch, as the Apoſtles have deliver'd them without Prevarication, it will not be difficult to make the Laity believe, not only myſterious Contradictions, but likewiſe the moſt palpable Abſurdities; ſuch as Tranſubſtantiation; that the Pope is infallible, and has the Power of Thundering out *Anathema's* and granting Abſolutions; and conſequently of damning and ſav-

ing whom he pleaſes; that the Pomp and Magnificence of the Sacred College, and even the Luxury of a Court, are laudable Means, and abſolutely neceſſary to keep up the Dignity and outward Luſtre of the viſible Church; and that the Spiritual Welfare of it depends upon Temporal Authority, and cannot be duely taken Care of without large Revenues, Princely Power, Politicks, and Military Force. No Set of Men have deſerv'd better of the Church of *Rome*, than the Writers of Legends and the Forgers of Miracles. In the Lives of the Saints, there is a plauſible Repreſentation of the Church Militant; and conſidering how naural it is for Man to be ſuperſtitious, and to love the *Merveilleux*, Nothing could be thought of more agreeable or edifying than to read of ſuch Numbers of Holy Men and Women, that did not flinch from Combating themſelves, and to ſee the noble Victories that have been obtain'd over the World, the Fleſh and the Devil, in a literal Senſe, as are to be met with in thoſe judicious Relations.

Hor. But what Analogy is there between the *Roman Catholick* Religion, and a Manufacture, as you inſinuated?

Cleo.

Cleo. The Diviſion of the whole into ſo many different Branches. The great Prelates, of whom not many have any Religion at all, are yet for Worldly Ends continually watching over the Temporal Intereſt of it. The little Biſhops and ordinary Prieſts take Care of the Myſtical Part of it; whilſt the Religious Orders contribute meritorious Works, and ſeem actually to comply with the harſheſt Precepts of Chriſtianity, often in a more rigid Conſtruction than the Words themſelves will bear.

Hor. Then have the Laity no Share in it?

Cleo. Yes; but their Taſk is the eaſieſt, and what they club towards Religion chiefly conſiſts in Faith and Money. But when Men pretend to be Chriſtians, and Nothing is to be met with in any Part of their Religion, but what is eaſy and pleaſant, and Nothing is required either of the Laity or the Clergy, that is difficult to perform, or diſagreeable to Human Nature, there is Room to ſuſpect, that ſuch a Set of People lay claim to a Title, that does not belong to them. When Miniſters of the Goſpel take Pains to undermine it themſelves, and flatly deny the Strictneſs of Behaviour, and Severity of Manners, that are ſo manifeſtly inculcated in every Part of it, I don't won-

wonder, that Men of Sincerity, who can read, ſhould refuſe to give Credit to every Thing that is ſaid by ſuch Miniſters. It is eaſier to ſpeak with Contempt of the recluſe Lives of the *Carthuſians*, and to laugh at the Auſterities of *La Trappe*, than it is to refute what might be alledg'd from the Goſpel to prove the Neceſſity there is, that to be acceptable to God, Men ſhould fly from Luſt, make War with themſelves, and mortify the Fleſh. When Miniſters of *Chriſt* aſſure their Hearers, that to indulge themſelves in all earthly Pleaſures and Senſualities, that are not claſhing with the Laws of the Country, or the Faſhion of the Age they live in, will be no Bar to their future Happineſs, if they enjoy them with Moderation; that Nothing ought to be deem'd Luxury, that is ſuitable to a Perſon's Rank and Quality, and which he can purchaſe without hurting his Eſtate, or injuring his Neighbour; that no Buildings or Gardens can be ſo profuſely ſumptuous, no Furniture ſo curious or magnificent, no Inventions for Eaſe ſo extravagant, no Cookery ſo operoſe, no Diet ſo delicious, no Entertainments or Way of Living ſo expenſive as to be Sinful in the Sight of God, if a Man can afford them;

and

and they are the ſame, as others of the ſame Birth or Quality either do or would make Uſe of, if they could: That a Man may ſtudy and be ſollicitous about Modes and Faſhions, aſſiſt at Courts, hunt after Worldly Honour, and partake of all the Diverſions of the *beau monde*, and at the ſame Time be a very good Chriſtian; when Miniſters of *Chriſt*, I ſay, aſſure their Hearers of this, they certainly teach what they have no Warrant for from his Doctrine. For it is in Effect the ſame as to aſſert, that the ſtricteſt Attachment to the World is not inconſiſtent with a Man's Promiſe of renouncing the Pomp and Vanity of it.

Hor. But what ſignify the Auſterity of Life and Forbearance of Nuns and Friars, if they were real, to all the Reſt who don't practiſe them? And what Service can their Self-denial and Mortification be of to the Vain and Senſual, who gratify every Appetite that comes uppermoſt?

Cleo. The Laity of the *Roman* Communion are taught and aſſured, that they may be of great Service even to the Wicked; nay, it may be proved from Scripture, that the Interceſſion of the Righteous and Innocent, is ſome-

ſometimes capable of averting God's Vengeance from the Guilty. This only wants to be believed; and it is the eaſieſt Thing in the World to make the Multitude believe any Aſſertion, in which there is Nothing that contradicts receiv'd Opinions, and the common Notions which Men have of Things. There is no Truth, that has hitherto been more unanimouſly believed among all Sects and Opinions of Chriſtians in all Ages, than that the Goſpel warns Men againſt Carnal Pleaſures, and requires of them Humility, the Contempt of Earthly Glory, and ſuch a Strictneſs of Manners and Morality, as is difficult for Human Nature to comply with. Now when a Clergyman, who pretends to preach the Goſpel, puts ſuch Conſtructions on the plaineſt Texts, in which the Doctrine I ſpoke of is literally taught, as can only tend to extenuate and diminiſh the Force of them, and when moreover he leaves no Shifts or Evaſions untried, till he has deſtroy'd the Obſervance of thoſe Precepts; when a Clergyman, I ſay, is thus employ'd, it is no Wonder that his Doctrine ſhould raiſe Doubts and Scruples in his Hearers, when they compare it with the common Notions Men have of Chriſtianity.

Hor.

Hor. I am no Admirer, you know, of Prieſts of any Sort; but of the Two, I would prefer a Man of Learning and good Senſe, who treats me with good Manners, recommends Virtue, and a reaſonable Way of Living, to an ill bred ſour Pedant, that entertains me with fanatical Cant, and would make me believe, that it is a Sin to wear good Cloaths, and fill my Belly with what I like.

Cleo. There is no Doubt, but the *beau monde*, and all well bred People, that deſire to be judged of from outward Appearance, will always chuſe the moſt eaſy *Caſuiſts*; and the more ample the Allowances are, which Clergymen give them, of enjoying the World, the more they'll be pleas'd with them. But this can only be of Service amoug the Faſhionable and the Polite, whoſe Religion is commonly very ſuperficial, and whoſe Virtue is ſeldom extended beyond good Manners. But what will it do to Men of greater Sincerity, that can and dare examine themſelves? What will it do to ſerious and able Enquirers, that refuſe to truſt to Outſides, and will not be barr'd from ſearching into the Bottom of Things? If this was only a Matter of Speculation, a diſputable Point in a Ceremony, as whe-

whether Men are to ſit or to ſtand at the Performance of it, the Thing might eaſily be given up: but it plainly appears to be a Theory ſkilfully raiſed by Clergymen, to build a Practice upon in their Favour. Thoſe eaſie Divines don't make ſuch large Allowances to others for Nothing: They ſpeak one Word for the Laity, and two for themſelves, and ſeem to have Nothing more at Heart than to enjoy the Benefit of their own Doctrine. It is no Wonder therefore, that ſo many of the Clergy are always deſirous to converſe with the *beau monde*. Among the beſt bred People there is ſeldom any Difference to be ſeen between Believers and Unbelievers; neither of them give any Trouble to their Paſtors, and they are all equally cautious of offending. Polite People contradict No body, but conform to all Ceremonies that are faſhionable with Regard to the Time and the Places they are in; and a courtly Infidel will obſerve Decency at Church, and a becoming Carriage there, for the ſame Reaſon that he does it at a Ball, or in the Drawing-Room.

Hor. As to Indulgences and large Allowances, the *Roman Catholicks* out-do us far, eſpecially the *Jeſuits*, who certainly are the moſt eaſy *Caſuiſts* in the World. *Cleo.*

Cleo. They are ſo; but it is only in the Management of thoſe, whoſe Conſciences are under their Direction. A Jeſuit may tell a Man ſuch or ſuch Things are allow'd to Him in particular, and give him Reaſons for it from his Quality, or the Poſt he is in, from the State of his Health, his Temperament, his Age, or his Circumſtances: But he'll not deny or explain away the Self-denial and the Mortification in general, that are commanded in the Goſpel. When you come to this Point, he'll not leſſen the Difficulty and Irkſomneſs of Chriſtian Duties to Human Nature and the Fleſh; but he'll refer you to the Founder of his Order, and the great Self-denial he practis'd: Perhaps he'll relate to you, how that Saint watch'd his Arms all Night, after he had dedicated them, together with his Life, to the *Virgin Mary*. But that the Goſpel requires a literal Mortification of the Fleſh, and other hard Taſks from us, is the very Baſis which the Pope's Exchequer is built upon. He could have no Colour for enjoining Faſting and Abſtinence, if it was not ſuppoſed, that he had a Warrant for it from the New Teſtament. It is this Suppoſition, that brings all the Griſt to his Mill; and thus

a Man may eat Fleſh in Lent, without a Sin; but tho' he can get the Meat perhaps for Nothing, he ſhall pay for the Liberty of Eating it. Buying Abſolutions implies the Conſciouſneſs of having committed a Crime; and No body would give Money for Indulgencies, if he thought, that what he deſires to be indulged in, was lawful without them. All Multitudes will ſooner believe a Man to come from God, who leads an Auſtere Life himſelf, and preaches Abſtinence and Self-denial to others, tho' theythemſelves, I mean the Hearers, don't practiſe it, or take any Pains to comply with his Precepts, than they will another, who takes greater Liberties himſelf, and whoſe Doctrine is leſs ſevere. This the wiſe Architects of the Church of *Rome*, who were thoroughly ſkill'd in Human Nature, were well aware of; and accordingly they have improved upon the Scriptures, and added Luſtre to all thoſe Precepts, which it is moſt difficult to comply with; and in commenting on the ſevereſt Duties of Chriſtianity, they have been ſo far from extenuating and explaining away our Obligations to perform them, that they have heighten'd and magnify'd them, not only by Words and in Theory, but by Practice and Exam-

Example; as is ſo manifeſt from the hard and almoſt incredible Taſks, which many of them have actually impos'd upon themſelves, and gone through. They have flinch'd at Nothing on this Head.

Hor. A Man muſt be very ſtupid to believe, that his cloſe Attachment to the World, and the Looſneſs of his own Morals can be atton'd for by the recluſe and ſtrict Lives that are led in ſome Religious Houſes.

Cleo. Not ſo ſtupid as you imagine: There is Nothing in it that claſhes with the common Notions of Mankind. Ceremonies are perform'd by Proxy; Men are Security for one another; and a Debt is not more effectually diſcharg'd, when we receive the Money from him who borrow'd it, than when it is paid by his Bail, tho' the Principal himſelf runs away. If there is but real Self-denial to be met with any where in a Religion, it is no difficult Matter to make Multitudes believe, that they have, or may buy, a Share in it: Beſides, all *Roman Catholicks* are brought up in the firm Belief of the Neceſſity there is of Self-denial. They are ſtrictly forbid to eat Fleſh on Fridays; and Pains are taken to inſpire them from their very Childhood with a Hor-

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rour againſt the breaking of this Commandment. It is incredible, what Force ſuch a Precept is of, and how cloſely the Influence of it ſticks to Men, when it has been earneſtly inculcated to them from their early Youth. There is no Difficulty in the Thing when they are grown up; and I'll engage, that a *Roman* Catholick, who always has been accuſtom'd to this Piece of Obſervance till he is Five and Twenty Years of Age, will find it more eaſy afterwards to continue than to leave it off, tho' he ſhould turn Proteſtant, or even Turk.

Hor. I have often admired at the great Force this ſenſeleſs Piece of Superſtition is of; for I have ſeen great Reprobates and very looſe Fellows among the *Roman* Catholicks, who ſtuck at no Manner of Debauchery, and would often talk prophanely, that yet refuſed to eat Fleſh on a *Friday*, and could not be laugh'd out of their Folly; tho' at the ſame Time I could ſee, that they were actually aſhamed of it.

Cleo. No Set of People have ſo artfully play'd upon Mankind as the Church of *Rome*. In the Uſe they have made of Scripture, they have conſulted all our Frailties; and in their own Interpretations of it, moſt dextrouſly adap-

adapted themſelves to the common Notions of all Multitudes. They knew perfectly well, not only, that all Men are born with the Fear of an inviſible Cauſe, but likewiſe that it is more natural, or, at leaſt, that the rude and ignorant of our Species are always more apt to ſuſpect, that this inviſible Cauſe is their Enemy, than they are to think it to be their Friend, and will ſooner believe it to be an evil and malicious, than a good beneficent Being. To turn this to their Advantage, they made Uſe of all their Skill and Cunning to magnify the Devil, and cry up his Force and Subtlety, his ſupernatural Art, his implacable Hatred to Mankind, and great Influence over Human Affairs. All the ſtrange Stories they have ſpread, the monſtrous Fables they have invented, and the groſs Lies they have maintain'd, of Spirits, of Witchcraft, and Apparitions, never had any other Tendency than to manifeſt the Works of Satan, and make Every body afraid of his Power and Stratagems at all Times, and in all Places; which has been a prodigious Gain to them. They never taught any Thing that contradicted Vulgar Opinions, and never gave Men any Ideas of Heaven, that were not borrow'd from Something on

Earth. That Courts of Princes are not deem'd to be compleat without Women, has advanced the *Virgin Mary* to be Queen of Heaven. From the Influence of Mothers, and the Authority they are known to exerciſe over their Infants, they have drawn the moſt childiſh Concluſions to raiſe Superſtition; for to that Notion, and the great Honour which is every where allow'd to be due to Parents, it has been owing, that the Mother of God in the *Roman* Communion has been all along more addreſs'd and pray'd to, than her Son; and of the Two She ſeems to be the more venerable Perſon. All Patrons in ancient *Rome* had their Clients, whom they protected; and all Favourites of Princes have their Creatures, whoſe Intereſt they eſpouſe upon Occaſion: This has produced the Invocation of Saints and Angels; and that no Advocates might be wanting in the Celeſtial Court on any Emergency, the Church has provided, that there is no Town or Country, no Handicraft or Profeſſion, no Pain or Diſeaſe, Danger or Diſtreſs, but there is a kind Saint for that particular Affair, whoſe peculiar Province it is to preſide over and take Care of every Thing that relates to it; which has made the Number of them equal with, if not

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ſuperiour to that of the Pagan Deities. She knew, that the Incredibility of Things is no Obſtacle to Faith among Multitudes; and that in believing of Myſteries, Propoſitions will not be the leſs ſwallow'd for being contradictory to Reaſon.

Hor. But I thought you was not for keeping Men in Ignorance.

Cleo. What I am for, is not the Queſtion. Prieſts who would bear an abſolute Sway over the Laity, and live luxuriouſly at their Coſt, ought Firſt to make them believe Implicitly: Whereas an honeſt Clergy, that will teach Nothing concerning Religion, but what is conſiſtent with good Senſe, and becoming a rational Creature to believe, ought to deal uprightly with Men throughout the Whole, and not impoſe upon their Underſtandings in one Point more than they do in another. From the real Incomprehenſibility of God, juſt Arguments may be drawn for believing of Myſteries that ſurpaſs our Capacities. But when a Man has good Reaſon to ſuſpect, that he who inſtructed him in theſe Myſteries, does not believe them himſelf, it muſt ſtagger and obſtruct his Faith, tho' he had no Scruples before, and the Things he had been made to believe, are

no Ways claſhing with his Reaſon. It is not difficult for a Proteſtant Divine to make a Man of Senſe ſee the many Abſurdities that are taught by the Church of *Rome*, the little Claim which Popes can lay to Infallibility, and the Prieſtcraft there is in what they ſay of Purgatory and all that belongs to it. But to perſuade him likewiſe, that the Goſpel requires no Self-denial, nor any Thing that is irkſome to Nature, and that the Generality of the Clergy of *England* are ſincerely endeavouring, in their Lives and Doctrine, to imitate the Apoſtles, as nearly as Human Frailty will let them, and is conſiſtent with the Difference of the Age and Manners between their Time and ours; to perſuade, I ſay, a Man of Senſe, that theſe Things are likewiſe true, would not be ſo eaſy a Taſk. By a Man of Senſe, I mean a Man likewiſe of ſome Knowledge, who, in the Firſt Place, has read the Bible, and believes the Scripture to be the ſole Rule of Faith; and, in the Second, is no Stranger to our Church, or any Thing that is openly to be ſeen relating to her Clergy, eſpecially the Heads of them, the Biſhops; ſuch as their Palaces and Manner of Living; their Tranſlations, Revenues and Earthly Power, together with the World-

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ly Honours, Precedency and other Privileges, which our Spiritual Lords inſiſt upon to be their Due.

Hor. I have often laugh'd my Self at Apoſtles in Coaches and Six; but what muſt at that Rate the Men of Senſe and Sincerity among the *Roman Catholicks* think of their Prelates, who live in much greater Splendour and Luxury than ours? What muſt they think of the Cardinals and the Pope himſelf?

Cleo. Think of them? What they pleaſe, ſo they dare not to open their Lips againſt them, or any Thing which the Clergy are pleas'd to call Sacred. In all *Roman Catholick* Countries, you know, no Books or Pamphlets may be publiſh'd, but what are Licenſed; and no Man is allow'd to divulge any Sentiments concerning Religion, that are not entirely Orthodox; which in all Countries, ſo regulated, is a vaſt Eaſe and an unſpeakable Comfort to the Clergy of the eſtabliſh'd Church.

Hor. I never thought to hear you ſpeak againſt the Liberty of the Preſs.

Cleo. And you never will; for tho' Orthodoxy and the National Clergy are always the Gainers by theſe Curbs and Prohibitions, yet Truth and Religion are ever the Sufferers by

them. But all prudent Men ought to behave according to the Condition they are in, and the Principles as well as Privileges they lay claim to. Reform'd Divines own themſelves to be fallible: They appeal to our Reaſon, and exhort us to peruſe the Scripture Ourſelves. We live in a Country where the Preſs is open; where all Men are at full Liberty to expoſe Error and Falſhood, where they can find them; and No body is debarr'd from Writing almoſt any Thing, but Blaſphemy and Treaſon. A Proteſtant Clergy ought always to remember the Reaſons, which their Predeceſſors alledg'd for ſeparating themſelves from the *Roman* Communion, and never to forget, that the Haughtineſs and Luxury of the Prelates, as well as the Covetouſneſs, the Inſolence, and barefac'd Encroachments of the Clergy, were a conſiderable Part of the Complaints againſt Popery. No equitable Guides, that have open'd our Eyes to ſee the Frailties of others, ought to expect from us, that in Regard to themſelves we ſhould keep them ſhut cloſe, and never look upon their Behaviour. The *Roman* Paſtors, who keep their Flocks in the Dark, teach them blind Obedience, and never vouchſafe to argue with 'em

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any more than if they were real Sheep. They don't adviſe Men to read the Bible, but ſuch Books of Devotion as their Prieſts ſhall think proper for them; and are ſo far from appealing to their Judgment, that they conjure them, on Pain of Damnation, never to truſt their Reaſon, but implicitly to believe whatever the Church ſhall require of them.

Hor. You put me in Mind of Father *Canaye*, the Jeſuit in St. *Evremond*. No Reaſon! No Reaſon at all!

Cleo. Where the Clergy are poſſeſs'd of, and keep up this Authority over the Laity, and the Secular Arm is at their Devotion, to puniſh whom they condemn, they need not be nice or circumſpect in their Manner of Living; and no Pomp or Luxury will eaſily leſſen them in the Eſteem of the Multitude. No Proteſtant Clergy have wrote better in Defence of the Reformation than ours; but others have certainly gone greater Lengths in it, as to Worſhip and Diſcipline in outward Appearance. The Difference between the *Roman Catholicks* and us ſeems to be leſs irreconcilable, than it is between them and the Reformed Churches of the united *Netherlands* and *Switzerland*; and I am fully perſuaded,

that the Mother Church deſpairs not of bringing back to her Boſom this run-away Daughter of hers, and making this Iſland one Day or other repay with Intereſt the Loſſes ſhe has ſuſtain'd by its long Diſobedience. Arguments alone will never keep out Popery; and *Great Britain* being once reconciled to the Church of *Rome*, would add ſuch a Weight to her Power, that it would not be difficult for her in a little Time to reduce all the Reſt of the Proteſtants by main Force, and entirely to Triumph over what She calls the Northern Hereſy.

Hor. We have very good Laws to ſecure us from the Uſurpation of *Rome*; and the Abbey Lands, that are in the Poſſeſſion of the Laity, I believe, are a better, I mean, a ſtronger Argument againſt the Return of Popery, than ever will be ſhewn in Print.

Cleo. I believe ſo too; but it is not eaſy to determine, what Difficulties and Diſcouragements true Politicks and never ceaſing Induſtry may not ſurmount in Time. The Church of *Rome* is never without Men of great Parts and Application; ſhe entertains Numbers of them; and there is no Government, without Exception, of which the true Intereſt is ſo well underſtood, or ſo ſteadily purſued without Interruption, as hers.

Hor.

Hor. But why may not Proteſtants have Men of good Senſe and Capacity among them, as well as *Roman Catholicks*? Do not other Countries produce Men of Genius as well as *Italy*?

Cleo. Perhaps they do; tho' none more. The *Italians* are a ſubtle People; and I believe, that conſummate Knowledge in State Affairs, and Worldly Wiſdom are leſs precarious at *Rome*, than in any other Place you can name. Men of uncommon Genius are not born every Day, no more in *Italy* than any where elſe; but when in other Countries a good Politician goes off the Stage, either of Life or Buſineſs, it is often ſeen that a Bungler ſucceeds him, who in a few Years does more Hurt to the Nation, than the other had Time to do them good in a long Adminiſtration. This never happens at *Rome*; and there is no Court in the Univerſe ſo conſtantly ſupplied with able Managers and crafty Statesmen as hers: For how ſhort ſoever the Lives of moſt Popes may be, the Sacred College never dies. Tell me now pray, what unlikely Change, what Improbability can you imagine, of which we have not Reaſon to fear, that, if it be poſſible at all, it may be brought about by ſuch a Set of Men; when

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when every one's private Intereſt, as well as that of the Common Cauſe, are highly concern'd in it, and they are not ſtinted in Time?

Hor. Aſſiduity and Patience, I know, will do ſtrange Things, and overcome great Obſtacles. That the Church of *Rome* is more diligent and ſollicitous to make Proſelytes, than the Proteſtants generally are, I have long obſerved

Cleo. There is no common Cauſe among the Reformed: The Princes and Laity of different Perſuaſions would have been firmly united long ago, if the Clergy would have ſuffer'd it; but Divines, who differ, are implacable, and never known to treat any Adverſary with Temper or Moderation; and it has never been ſeen yet, that Two Sects of Chriſtians did agree, and join heartily in one Intereſt, unleſs they were oppreſs'd, or in immediate Danger of ſuffering by a common Enemy to both. As ſoon as that is over, you always ſee their former Animoſities revive. If the Church of *Rome* had no Hopes left, and given over all Thoughts of ever bringing this Kingdom back within her Pales, you would ſee the Engliſh Seminaries abroad neglected and dropt by Degrees; which ſhe now cultivates with the utmoſt

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Care: For it is from them only, that She can be furniſh'd with the proper Inſtruments to keep Popery alive in *England*, and buoy up the drooping Spirits of the diſtreſs'd *Catholicks*, among the many Hardſhips and Diſcouragements, they labour under beyond the Reſt of their Fellow-Subjects. Such Offices as theſe, are every where beſt perform'd by Natives: Whatever Perſuaſion People are of, if the National Church of their Country, be not of their Religion, it is natural to them to wiſh it was; and that all imaginable Care is taken in the Engliſh Seminaries to encourage, and with the utmoſt Skill to heighten and encreaſe this Natural Deſire in thoſe under their Care, no Man can doubt who conſiders the Abilities of the Tutors that are employ'd in them, and the vaſt Advantage the Reduction of *Great Britain* would be to the See of *Rome*. Whilſt thoſe Colleges are conſtantly ſupply'd with *Engliſh* and *Iriſh* Youth, the Popiſh Intereſt can never die in this Realm, nor the Church of *Rome* want inſinuating Prieſts, or hearty Zealots, that will act any Part, put on any Diſguiſe, and run any Riſque for their Cauſe, either in Strengthning the *Roman Catholicks* that are among us in their Faith, or ſeducing Pro-

Proteſtants from theirs. No Foreigners could do us half the Miſchief. People love their own Language from the ſame Motives as they love their Country; and there are no Prieſts or Clergy, whom Men will ſooner hearken to and confide in, than ſuch, as take great Pains and expreſs an uncommon Zeal in their Function, at the ſame Time that they exerciſe it at the Hazard of their Liberty or their Lives. The Church of *Rome* has fit Tools for every Work and every Purpoſe; and no other Power upon Earth has ſuch a Number of Creatures to ſerve it, nor ſuch a Fund to reward them when they do. That the Proteſtant Intereſt loſt Ground ſoon after it was well eſtabliſh'd, and is ſtill declining more and more every Day, is undeniable. To one *Roman Catholick*, that is converted to the Reform'd Religion, Ten Proteſtants turn Papiſts, among the higheſt Quality as well as the Vulgar. What can be the Reaſon of this Change? What is it that this Evil ought to be imputed to?

Hor. Either the Church of *Rome* is grown more vigilant and mindful of her Cauſe ſince the Reformation, than She was in *Luther's* Days, or the Proteſtants are become more negligent and careleſs of theirs.

Cleo.

Cleo. I believe both to be true, but eſpecially the latter; for if the Maxims, that were moſt inſtrumental in bringing about the Reformation, had been continued, they certainly would have prevented, at leaſt in a great Meaſure, not only this Evil, but likewiſe another, which is worſe, I mean the Growth of Irreligion and Impiety: Nay, I don't queſtion but the ſame Maxims, if they were to be tried again would have that Effect ſtill.

Hor. This is a fine Secret, and what, I dare ſay, the Clergy would be glad to know. Pray, which are thoſe Maxims.

Cleo. The Sanctity of Manners and exemplary Lives of the Reformers, their Application and unwearied Diligence in their Calling; their Zeal for Religion, and Diſregard of Wealth and Worldly Enjoyments, either real or counterfeited, for that God only knows.

Hor. I did not expect this. The Bench of Biſhops won't thank you for your Preſcription: They would call it an Attempt to cure the Patients by bliſtering the Phyſicians.

Cleo. Thoſe who would call it ſo, muſt be ſtrange Proteſtant Divines.

Hor. I am ſure, that ſome, if not moſt of them, would think the Remedy worſe than the Diſeaſe.

Cleo.

Cleo. Yet there is none equal to it, no Remedy ſo effectual, either to cure us of thoſe Evils, and put an entire Stop to, or to hinder and obſtruct the Encreaſe as well of Atheiſm and Prophaneneſs, as of Popery and Superſtition. And I defy all the Powers of Prieſtcraft to name ſuch another, a practicable Remedy, of which there is any Probability, that it would go down or could be made uſe of in a clear-ſighted Age, and among a knowing People, that have a Senſe of Liberty, and refuſe to be Prieſt-rid. It is amazing, that ſo many fine Writers among the Clergy, ſo many Men of Parts and Erudition ſhould ſeem very earneſtly to enquire into the Cauſes of Libertiniſm and Infidelity, and never think on their own Conduct.

Hor. But they'll tell you, that you make the Doctrine of the Goſpel ſtricter than it really is; and I think ſo too; and that you take ſeveral Things literally, that ought to be figuratively underſtood.

Cleo. When Words are plain and intelligible, and what is meant by them in a literal Senſe is agreeable to the Tenour and the whole Scope of the Book in which we meet with thoſe Words, it is reaſonable to think, that they

they ought to be literally underſtood. But if, notwithſtanding this, there are others, who are of Opinion, that theſe Words are to be taken in a figurative Senſe, and this figurative Senſe is more forced than the literal, and likewiſe claſhing with the Doctrine and the Deſign of the Book, we have great Reaſon not to ſide with their Opinion: But if it appears moreover, that thoſe who contend for the forced, figurative Senſe, ſhould be Gainers by it, if their Opinion prevail'd, and it would bring them Profit, Honour, Pleaſure, or Eaſe, then we ought to ſuſpect them to be partial, and the figurative Senſe is to be rejected.

Hor. I don't know what to make of you to Day. You have ſhewn the *Roman Catholick* Religion to be a bare-faced Impoſture; and at the ſame Time you ſeem to blame the *Proteſtants* for having left it.

Cleo. I am very conſiſtent with my Self. I have laid open to you the Politicks, Penetration and Worldly Wiſdom of the Church of *Rome*, and the Want of them in the Reformers, who expoſed the Frauds of their Adverſaries, without conſidering the Hardſhips and Difficulties, which ſuch a Diſcovery would entail upon their Succeſſors. When they parted

ted with their Power, and gave up their Infallibility, they ſhould have foreſeen the neceſſary Conſequences of that Honeſty and Candour. A Reform'd Church, that will own ſhe may err, muſt prepare for Hereſies and Schiſms, look upon them as unavoidable, and never be angry with thoſe who diſſent from her. They ought likewiſe to have known, that no Divines, who will preach the Goſpel in its Purity, and teach Nothing but Apoſtolick Truths without Craft or Deceit, will ever be believ'd long, if they appeal to Men's Reaſon, unleſs they will likewiſe lead, or at leaſt endeavour or ſeem to lead Apoſtolick Lives. In all Sects and Schiſms it has always been and will ever be obſerved, that the Founders of them either are, or pretend to be Men of Piety and good Lives; but as there never was a Principle of Morality that Men have ſet out from, ſo ſtrict yet, that in Tract of Time Human Nature has not got the better of it, ſo the Succeſſors of thoſe Founders always become more remiſs by Degrees, and look out for Ways and Means to render the Practice of their Doctrine, or the Exerciſe of their Function, more comfortable and commodious: And all Perſuaſions have ever loſt Ground, and been ſunk in their

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Reputation in proportion, as the Teachers of them have relax'd their Manners. No Doctrine ever prevail'd or got any Advantage over the eſtabliſh'd Religion in any Country, that was not accompanied with a real Auſterity of Life, or a Pretence at leaſt to a ſtricter Morality, and greater Forbearance, than was generally to be ſeen in the National Church, at the Time in which the Doctrine was advanced. Theſe are eternal Truths, that muſt flow from the Fabrick, the very Eſſence of Human Nature. Therefore the Clergy may write and preach as they pleaſe: They may have all the Skill and Learning that Mortals can be poſſeſs'd of, and all the Aſſiſtance into the Bargain, that the ſecular Power can give them in a free Nation, they will never be able long to keep up their Credit with a mix'd Multitude, if no Shew is made of Self-denial, and they will totally neglect thoſe Means, without which that Credit was never acquired.

THE

Third Dialogue

BETWEEN

Horatio and *Cleomenes.*

Horatio.

THO' it is but Two Days ago, that I troubled you almoſt a whole Afternoon, I am come again to ſpend the Remainder of this, and ſup with you, if you are at Leiſure.

Cleo. This is exceeding kind. I am no Ways engaged; and you give me a vaſt Deal of Pleaſure.

Hor. The more I have thought and reflected on what you ſaid of Honour laſt *Tueſday*, the more I have perceiv'd and felt the Truth of it in Spight of my Teeth. But I ſhall never dare to ſpeak of ſo wretched an Origin.

Cleo.

Cleo. The Beginning of all Things relating to Human Affairs was ever ſmall and mean: Man himſelf was made of a Lump of Earth. Why ſhould we be aſhamed of this? What could be meaner than the Origin of Ancient *Rome*? Yet her own Hiſtorians, proud as they were, ſcrupled not to mention it, after ſhe was arrived at the Height of her Glory, and become a Goddeſs, *Dea Roma*, to whom Divine Honours were paid throughout the Empire, and a ſtately Temple was erected within her own Walls.

Hor. I have often wonder'd at that *Dea Roma*, and her Statues reſembling thoſe of *Pallas*. What could they pretend her Divinity to conſiſt in?

Cleo. In her vaſt Power, which every Freeman had the Privilege to imagine, he had a Share in.

Hor. What a *Bizar*, what a monſtrous Humour muſt it have been, that could make a wiſe People ſuppoſe that to be a Goddeſs, which they knew to be a City!

Cleo. Nothing in the Univerſe, but the Pride of the Citizens. But I don't think, that the Humour, which you ſeem to be ſo much aſtoniſh'd at, is altogether worn off yet. In

Poetry, Painting and Sculpture, you ſee Rivers, Towns, and Countries continue to be repreſented under the Images of Men and Women as much as ever. Look upon the Marble Figures about the Pedeſtal of Queen *Anne*'s Statue at St. *Paul*'s.

Hor. But No body is ſo ſilly as to worſhip them.

Cleo. Not in outward Shew, becauſe it is out of Faſhion; but the inward Veneration, which is paid by many to the Things repreſented by thoſe Images, is the very ſame as it was formerly, and owing to the ſame Cauſe.

Hor. In what Part of the World is it, that you have obſerved this?

Cleo. In *Chriſtendom*; Here. If you was to hear a vain Man, that is a conſiderable Inhabitant of any large Capital, when he is ſpeaking on the Part and in Behalf of his City, *London* for Example, *Paris* or *Amſterdam*, you would find the Honour, the high Eſteem, and the Deference, which in his Opinion are due to it, far ſuperiour to any, that are now paid to Mortal Creatures.

Hor. I believe there is a great Deal in what you ſay.

Cleo. It is worth your Obſervation, what I

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am going to mention. Wherever you ſee great Power and Authority lodged in a conſiderable Number of Men, mind the profound Reſpect and Submiſſion, each Member pays to the whole, and you'll find, that there is great Plenty, throughout the World, of what you ſaid, two Days ago, was inconceivable to you.

Hor. What is that, pray?

Cleo. Idols, that are their own Worſhipers, and ſincerely adore themſelves.

Hor. I don't know but there may be, in your Way of conſtruing Things: But I came with a Deſign to diſcourſe with you on another Subject. When you ſaid in our laſt Converſation, that *a peaceful Diſpoſition and Humility were not Qualities more promiſing in the Day of Battle, than a contrite Heart and a broken Spirit are Preparatives for Fighting*, I could not help agreeing with your Sentiments; yet it is a common Notion, even among Men of very good Senſe, that the beſt Chriſtians make the beſt Soldiers.

Cleo. I verily believe, that there are no better Soldiers, than there are among the Chriſtians; and I believe the ſame of Painters; but I am well aſſured, that the beſt in either Calling are often far from being the beſt Chriſ-

tians. The Doctrine of *Chriſt* does not teach Men to Fight, any more than it does to Paint. That *Engliſhmen* fight well is not owing to their Chriſtianity. The Fear of Shame is able to make moſt Men brave. Soldiers are made by Diſcipline. To make them proud of their Profeſſion, and inſpire them with the Love of Glory, are the ſureſt Arts to make them valiant: Religion has Nothing to do with it. The *Alcoran* bids its Followers fight and propagate their Faith by Arms and Violence; nay, it promiſes Paradiſe to All, who die in Battle againſt Infidels; yet you ſee, how often the *Turks* have turn'd Tail to the *Germans*, when the latter have been inferiour in Number.

Hor. Yet Men never fight with greater Obſtinacy than in Religious Wars. If it had not been taken for granted, that Men were animated to Battle by Preaching, *Butler* would never have call'd the Pulpit, *Drum Eccleſiaſtick.*

Cleo. That Clergymen may be made Uſe of as Incendiaries, and by perverting the Duties of their Function, ſet Men together by the Ears, is very true; but no Man was ever made to fight by having the Goſpel preach'd to him. From what I have ſaid of Self-liking and Human Nature, the Reaſon is manifeſt, why among

among People, that are indifferent to one another, it is a difficult Task to make a Man ſincerely love his Neighbour, at the ſame Time, that it is the eaſieſt Thing in the World to make him hate his Neighbour with all his Heart. It is impoſſible that Two diſtinct Perſons or Things ſhould be the ſame; therefore they muſt all differ in Something.

Hor. Cannot Two Things be ſo exactly alike, that they ſhall differ in Nothing?

Cleo. No: For if they are Two, they muſt differ in Situation, Eaſt and Weſt, the Right and the Left; and there is Nothing ſo ſmall, ſo innocent, or ſo inſignificant, that Individuals of our Species can differ in, but Self-liking may make a Handle of it for Quarrelling. This cloſe Attachment and Partiality of every Man to himſelf, the very Word, Difference, points at, and upbraids us with: For tho' literally it is only a Term, to expreſs that Things are not the ſame; yet, in its figurative Senſe, Difference between Men ſignifies Diſagreement in Opinions, and Want of Concord. For not only different Nations, but different Cities in the ſame Kingdom, different Wards, different Pariſhes, different Families, different Perſons, tho' they are Twins, or the beſt Friends

in the World, are all in a fair Way of Quarrelling, whenever the Difference, that is between them, be that what it will, comes to be look'd into and diſcuſs'd; if both act with Sincerity, and each Party will ſpeak from the Bottom of their Hearts.

Hor. Self is never forgot; and I believe, that many love their Country very ſincerely for the Sake of One.

Cleo. Nay, what is all the World to the meaneſt Beggar, if he is not to be conſider'd as a Part of it?

Hor. This is a little too openly inculcated at Church; and I have often wonder'd, how a Parſon, preaching before a few Clowns in a pitiful Village, ſhould, after he has named all the great People in the Nation, pray God to bleſs more *eſpecially* the Congregation there aſſembled; and this at the ſame Time that the King and the Royal Family are at Prayers likewiſe; and the Houſe of Lords at one Church, and the Houſe of Commons at another. I think it is an impudent Thing for a Parcel of Country Boobies to deſire to be ſerv'd firſt, or better, than ſo many Hundred Congregations, that are ſuperiour to them in Number and Knowledge, as well as Wealth and Quality.

Cleo.

Cleo. Men always join moſt heartily in Petitions, in which they manifeſtly have a Share; and that the *Eſpecially*, you find Fault with, was put in from that Conſideration, I believe No body denies.

Hor. But there ſeems to be a low Artifice, a crafty Deſign, by which the Compilers of thoſe Prayers, knowingly made People lay a Streſs upon a Thing, in which there is no Reality. When I hear a Man pray for Bleſſings on All, eſpecially the Congregation where I am preſent, it pleaſes me well enough, and the Word *Eſpecially*, has its Effect upon me whilſt I think no further; but when I conſider, that the ſame Words are ſaid to every Audience of the ſame Church throughout the Kingdom, I plainly find that I was pleas'd with Nothing.

Cleo. Suppoſe I ſhould own, that it was a Contrivance of thoſe, who compoſed the Prayers, to raiſe Devotion, and that this Contrivance had been the Effect of a thorough Knowledge of Human Nature; where would be the Harm, ſince No body can be injured by it? But to return to our Subject. If Difference in the leaſt Things is capable of raiſing Anger, there is no Doubt, but it will do

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it moſt in Things that are very material, and of the higheſt Concern: And that Religion in all Countries is an Affair of the greateſt Concern, is taken for granted by all good Men, and ſeldom denied by the bad. This is the Reaſon, that in Religious Wars Men are more inveterate, and commit more Cruelties, than when they fight upon any other Account. Here the worſt and moſt vicious Men have fine Opportunities of gratifying their natural Malice and Rancour of Heart, without being blamed for it; and placing a Merit in doing Miſchief. Therefore we ſee, that thoſe, who are moſt neglectful of their Duty, and act moſt contrary to the Dictates of their Religion, are ſo often the moſt zealous in fighting for it. There are other Things that help, and all contribute, to make Religious Wars the moſt bloody. Men are commonly ſure of Nothing ſo much, as they are of the Truth of the Religion they profeſs; ſo that in all Religious Quarrels, Every body is ſatisfied that he has Juſtice on his Side: This muſt make Men obſtinate. The Multitude in all Countries aſcribe to the Deities they worſhip the ſame Paſſions which they feel themſelves; and knowing how well pleas'd they are with

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Every body that is on their Side, and will take their Part, they expect their Reward from Heaven, which they ſeem to defend; and on that Score they think with Delight on the Loſſes and Calamities which they make others ſuffer; whether *Churchmen* fight with *Preſbyterians*, *Papiſts* with *Proteſtants*, or *Mahometans* with *Chriſtians* of any Sort. Thoſe who are of Opinion, that the beſt *Chriſtians* make the beſt Soldiers, have commonly their Eyes on the Civil Wars both in *France* and in *England*.

Hor. And if you compare the Prince of *Conde*'s Army with that of the League there, or *Cromwell*'s Troops with the King's Forces here, the *Whigs* will tell you, that in either Nation you may meet with ſufficient Proofs, to confirm the Opinion you ſpeak of.

Cleo. I have Nothing to do with *Whigs* or *Tories*; but let us narrowly look into this Affair, and examine it impartially. Religion was brought into the Quarrel, you know, in both Kingdoms, and the Caſes between the Adverſaries here and there were much the ſame. The *Huguenots* and *Roundheads* on the one Side ſaid, that they had Nothing ſo much at Heart as Religion; that the National Worſhip was Ido-

Idolatry; that Chriſtianity required no outward Shew of Altars or Veſtments, but the Sacrifice of the Heart to be ſeen in Men's Lives; that God was to be ſerv'd with greater Strictneſs, than was obſerved by the National Clergy; that they fought his Cauſe, and did not queſtion, but by his Help to obtain the Victory. The *Leaguers* and *Cavaliers* ſaid on the other Side, that Lay-men, eſpecially Soldiers, were improper Judges in Matters of Religion; that themſelves were honeſt Men, loyal Subjects, who fought for the eſtabliſh'd Church, their King and Country; and as to their Adverſaries, that they were a Parcel of Hypocritical Raſcals, that under the Maſk of Sanctity carried on an open Rebellion, and had no other Deſign than to dethrone the King, and get the Government into their own Clutches. Let us ſee the Conſequence that would naturally follow from this Difference. The Firſt, to ſupport their Cauſe, would think it neceſſary not to be too glaringly inconſiſtent with themſelves; therefore they would diſplay ſomewhat more of Devotion, and by praying often, and perhaps ſinging of Pſalms, make a greater Shew of Religion, than is commonly ſeen in Armies. Should the Chief of ſuch

Troops

Troops, and the great Men under him, who are moſt likely to get by the Quarrel, be more circumſpect in their Actions, and attend Divine Worſhip oftner than is uſual for Perſons of Quality, their Example would influence the inferiour Officers, and theſe would take Care, that the Soldiers ſhould comply, whether they would or not. If this was well perform'd on the one Side, it is very natural to ſuppoſe, that the other, knowing the firſt to be no better Men than themſelves, and believing them to be Hypocrites, would not only be offended at their Behaviour, but likewiſe, in Oppoſition to their Enemies, be more neglectful of Religious Duties, than well diſciplin'd Armies generally are, and the Soldiers allow'd to be more diſſolute in their Lives than is uſual. By this Means the Contraſt between two ſuch Armies, would be very conſpicuous. A good Politician may add to, or take from the Principle of Honour, what Virtue or Qualification he pleaſes; and a ſkilful General, who can guard his own Actions, and will be at ſome Trouble in Self-denial where he may be obſerved, may model an Army as he thinks fit. All Superiours, in Camps as well as Courts, will ever ſerve for Pat-

Patterns to their Inferiours; and ſhould Officers unanimouſly reſolve to render Swearing unfaſhionable, and in good Earneſt ſet about this Task, by Example as well as Precept and Diſcipline, it would not be difficult to manage Soldiers in ſuch a Manner, that in leſs than Half a Year not an Oath ſhould be heard among them. If there were Two Armies in the ſame Country, and of the ſame Nation, in one of which the Soldiers ſhould curſe and ſwear, as much as is commonly done among all looſe and ill-bred People, and in the other the Men ſhould have been cured of that bad Cuſtom, it is incredible what Reputation of being Good and Religious, thoſe, who would only forbear Swearing, would gain beyond their Adverſaries, tho' they were equally guilty with them of Whoring, Drinking, Gaming, and every other Vice except that one. Therefore if one General, to pleaſe and keep in with a Party, ſhould think it his Intereſt that his Troops ſhould make a greater Appearance of Godlineſs, than is commonly obſerved among Military Men; and another, to pleaſe a contrary Party, ſhould take it to be his Intereſt to act as contrary as it was poſſible to what his Enemies did, and endeavour to be the

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Reverſe of them, the Difference would be prodigious.

Hor. Then if in one Army they were Valiant, the General of the other would endeavour to make his Men Cowards.

Cleo. They would differ in every Thing that Soldiers can differ in: The Obſervance of the Point of Honour and Hatred to their Enemies are inſeparable from their Calling; therefore reſenting of Affronts among themſelves, and cruel Uſage to their Enemies, were not more baniſh'd from the Armies of the *Huguenots* and *Roundheads*, than they were from thoſe of the *Leaguers* and *Cavaliers*.

Hor. The true Reaſon of the Difference, in the Lives and Morals of the Soldiers, between the King's Forces and the Rebels, was the Difference of their Circumſtances, and the Care that was taken of them. The Parliament's Army was regularly provided for, and always able to pay for what they had. But the others, who were moſt commonly in Want, were forced to live upon the Country, and take their Proviſions where they could get them; and this will make all Troops more diſſolute and diſorderly, than is conſiſtent with the Service, tho' they had the beſt Officers in the World.

Cleo.

Cleo. The Misfortune you ſpeak of, and which the King's Army labour'd under, muſt every where be a great Hinderance to Diſcipline; and I verily believe, that his Soldiers ſuffer'd very much in their Morals on Account of it; but I am perſuaded, that the Contrariety of Principles, which I hinted at, was an Addition to that Misfortune, and made it worſe; for that the *Cavaliers* laughed at the *Roundheads* for their praying ſo long and ſo often, and the great Shew they made of Devotion, is certain; and there is always a Pleaſure in appearing to be the Reverſe of what we ridicule in our Enemies. But whatever was then, or might at any other Time, be the true Reaſon of the Difference in the Shew of Piety and Goodneſs between two ſuch Armies, let us ſee the Conſequence of it, and the Effect it would naturally have on the ſober Party. All Multitudes are ſuperſtitious; and among great Numbers, there are always Men prone to Enthuſiaſm; and if the Pretenders to Godlineſs had skilful Divines (as no doubt, they would have) that knew, how to extol the Goodneſs and Piety of the General and the Soldiers, declaim againſt the Wickedneſs and reprobate Lives of the Enemies, and remonſtrate

ſtrate to their Hearers, how God muſt love the firſt, and, from his known Attributes, hate the latter, it would in all Probability produce every Thing we read of in the Armies of the Prince of *Conde* and the Parliament. Some Colonels would preach, and ſome Soldiers would learn Prayers and Scraps of Pſalms by Heart, and many of them would grow more circumſpect in indulging their Vices, than is common to Men of their Function. This latter would make the Men more governable, and conſequently better Troops, and all together would make a great Noiſe. Beſides, Mankind are ſo given to flatter themſelves, that they'll believe any Thing, that is ſaid in their Praiſe; and ſhould, in any Regiment of ſuch an Army, the Chaplain diſplay his Eloquence before a Battle, exhort the Men to Bravery, ſpeak in Commendation of the Zeal and Piety of the Officers and the Troops in general, and find out ſome particular Reaſon, why God ſhould love and have Regard for that Regiment beyond any other, it might have a very good Effect upon the moſt Wicked, as well as the better Sort. And if this Chaplain, from what he knew of them, ſhould pathetically encourage them, and promiſe them the Victory,

Enthuſiaſm is ſo catching, that a Fellow, who lay with a Whore over Night, and was drunk the Day before, if he ſaw his Comrades moved, might be tranſported with Joy and Eagerneſs to fight, and be ſtupid enough to think, that he had a Share in God's Favour. The *Greek* and *Roman* Hiſtories abound with Inſtances of the immenſe Uſe that may be made in War of Superſtition well turn'd: The groſſeſt, if ſkilfully managed, may make the fearful, undaunted, and the looſeſt Livers exert themſelves to the utmoſt of their Power, from a firm Belief, that Heaven is on their Side. That Superſtition has had this Effect upon Men of almoſt every Perſuaſion, as well as Heathen Idolaters, is certain; but he muſt be a notable Divine, that can expect the ſame from the Doctrine of *Chriſt*, faithfully deliver'd, and preach'd in its Purity. It is poſſible therefore that any Number of Troops may, by crafty Declamations and other Arts, be made Zealots and Enthuſiaſts, that ſhall fight and pray, ſing Pſalms one Hour, and demoliſh an Hoſpital the next; but you'll as ſoon meet with an Army of Generals or of Emperours, as you will with, I won't ſay an Army, but a Regiment, or even a Company of good Chriſtians among Mi-

Military Men. There never were better Troops, or Men that behaved with greater Gallantry and Chearfulneſs, than we had in the two laſt Wars; Officers as well as common Soldiers; but I would as ſoon believe, that it was Witchcraft that made them brave, as that it was their Religion.

Hor. Yet I have often heard it from experienc'd Officers, that the moſt virtuous, the ſobereſt, and the moſt civiliz'd Fellows made the beſt Soldiers, and were thoſe whom they could moſt depend upon.

Cleo. I heartily believe that to be true for the Generality; for I know, that by Virtuous, you don't mean much more than tolerably Honeſt, ſuch as are not given to wrong or deceive Any body; or elſe among the Officers themſelves, you know, that very Few of them are poſſeſs'd of many Chriſtian Virtues, or would be fond of the Character. Do but conſider what is required of a Soldier. There are Three Things which the Officers are chiefly afraid of in their Men: The Firſt is, that they may deſert, which is ſo much Money loſt: The Second, that they may rob or ſteal, and ſo come to be hang'd: The Third is, that they may be ſick, and conſequently

incapable of doing Duty. Any middling Honeſty ſecures them entirely as to the two Firſt; and, without Doubt, the leſs vicious, that is, the more ſober and temperate the Men are, the more likely they are to preſerve their Health. As for the Reſt, Military Men are eaſy *Caſuiſts* for the Generality, and are uſed to give, as well as take, large Grains of Allowance. A Soldier, who minds his Buſineſs, is ſeldom reproved for taking any Pleaſure he can come at, without being complain'd of: And if he be brave, and underſtands his Exerciſe, takes Care always to be ſober when he is upon Duty, pays a profound Reſpect to his Officers, as well as a ſtrict Obedience to their Commands, watches their Eyes, and flies at a Nod, he can never fail of being beloved. And if moreover he keeps himſelf clean, and his Hair powder'd, is neat in his Cloaths, and takes Care not to be pox'd; let him do what he pleaſes for the Reſt, he'll be counted a very valuable Fellow. A Man may do all this without Chriſtianity, as well as he can do it without having an Eſtate. There are Thouſands that are leſs circumſpect and not half ſo well accompliſh'd, who yet are well eſteem'd in that Station. And as I have allow'd on the

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one Hand, that the ſobereſt and the moſt civiliz'd Fellows make the beſt Soldiers, and are, generally ſpeaking, the moſt to be depended upon in an Army, ſo it is undeniable on the other, that, if not the major, at leaſt a very conſiderable Part of our beſt Troops, that had the greateſt Share in the Victories we obtain'd, was made up of looſe and immoral, if not debauch'd and wicked Fellows. Nay, I inſiſt upon it, that Jayl-birds, Rogues, who had been guilty of the worſt of Crimes, and ſome that had been ſaved from the Gallows to recruit our Forces, did on many Occaſions both in *Spain*, and *Flanders*, fight with as much Intrepidity, and were as indefatigable, as the moſt Virtuous amongſt them. Nor was this any Thing ſtrange or unexpected; or elſe the recruiting Officers ought to have been puniſh'd, for liſting and giving the Money of the Publick to Men, of whom there was no Probability that they could be made Soldiers. But to make it evident, how little the Religion and Morality of a Soldier are minded by his Superiours, and what great Care is taken to keep up and cultivate his Pride ——.

Hor. That latter I have ſeen enough of in

the *Fable* of the *Bees.* You would ſpeak about the Cloaths and Accoutrements.

Cleo. I wave them; tho' there it is likewiſe very conſpicuous. I only deſire you to compare the Things he is indulg'd in, and which, if he pleaſes, he may brag of, with what he is taught to be aſhamed of, the grand Offence, which, if once committed, is never to be pardon'd. If he has but Courage, and knows how to pleaſe his Officers, he may get drunk Two or Three Times a Week, have a freſh Whore every Day, and ſwear an Oath at every Word he ſpeaks, little or no Notice ſhall be taken of him to his Diſhonour; and, if he be good humour'd, and forbears ſtealing among his Comrades, he'll be counted a very honeſt Fellow. But if, what *Chriſt* and his Apoſtles would have juſtify'd him in and exhorted him to do, he takes a Slap in the Face, or any other groſs Affront before Company, without reſenting it, tho' from his intimate Friend, it cannot be endured; and tho' he was the ſobereſt, and the moſt chaſte, the moſt diſcreet, tractable and beſt temper'd Man in the World, his Buſineſs is done. No body will ſerve with a noted Coward; nay, it would be an Affront to deſire it of Gentlemen Soldiers,

diers, who wear the King's Cloth; and the Officers are forc'd to turn him out of the Regiment. Thoſe who are unacquainted with Military Affairs and Chaplains of Regiments, would not imagine, what a ſmall Portion of Virtue and Forbearance a Soldier ſtands in Need of, to have the Reputation of a good religious Man among thoſe he converſes with. Clergymen, that are employ'd in Armies, are ſeldom rigid *Caſuiſts*; and Few of them are Saints themſelves. If a Soldier ſeems to be leſs fond of ſtrong Liquors than others generally are; if he is ſeldom heard to Swear; if he is cautious in Love-Affairs, and not openly vicious that Way; if he is not known to Steal or Pilfer, he'll be ſtiled a very honeſt, ſober Fellow. But if, moreover, ſuch a one ſhould behave with Decency at Divine Service, and ſeem now and then to be attentive to what is ſpoken; if ever he had been ſeen with a Book in his Hand, either open or ſhut; if he was reſpectful to the Clergy, and zealous againſt thoſe, who are not of the ſame Religion which he profeſſes to be of, he would be call'd a very Religious Man; and half a Dozen of them in a Regiment would, in a little Time, procure a mighty Character to the whole, and great Honour to the Chaplain.

Hor. I dare ſay, that on ſome Occaſions he would take the Liberty from it to brag, that there were no better Chriſtians in the World, than a great many were, whom he had under his Care.

Cleo. Conſidering how Things are often magnify'd without Regard to Truth or Merit, and what Advantages ſome Men will take, right or wrong, to advance as well as maintain the Cauſe they get by; it is not improbable, that three or four ſcore thouſand Men, that were kept in good Diſcipline, tho' they were all taken at Random from the loweſt and idleſt of the Vulgar, might be ſtiled an Army of good Chriſtians, if they had a Chaplain to every Regiment, and but Two or Three ſuch orderly Soldiers, as I have deſcrib'd, in every Thouſand: And I am perſuaded, that the Sect or Religion, which they pretended to follow and profeſs, would, by the Help of able and active Divines, acquire more Credit and Reputation from thoſe Few, than all the Looſneſs, Debauchery and groſs Vices of the Reſt would ever be able to take away from them.

Hor. But from what you have ſaid, I ſhould think, that the Goſpel muſt do Hurt among fighting Men. As ſuch they muſt be anima-

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ted by another Spirit, and can receive no Benefit from the Doctrine of Peace. What Occaſion is there for Divines in an Army?

Cleo. I have hinted to you ſeveral Times, that in the Management of Human Creatures, the Fear of an inviſible Cauſe, which they are all born with, was always to be conſulted; and that no Multitudes can ever be govern'd, ſo as to be made uſeful to any one Purpoſe, if thoſe, who attempt to rule over them, ſhould neglect to take Notice of, or but any Ways ſeem to ſlight the Principle of that Fear. The worſt of Men are often as much influenc'd by it as the beſt; or elſe Highwaymen and Houſe-breakers would not ſwear Fidelity to one another. God is call'd upon as a Witneſs to the mutual Promiſes of the greateſt Miſcreants, that they will perſevere in their Crimes and Villanies, and to the laſt Drop of their Blood be unalterably Wicked. This, you know, has been done in Maſſacres, the blackeſt Treaſons, and the moſt horrid Conſpiracies; tho' the Perſons concern'd in them, perhaps, gave other Names to their Undertakings. By this we may ſee, what abſurd Notions Men may have of the Deity, who undoubtedly believe his Exiſtence: For how flagitious ſoever Men are, none can be deem'd

Atheiſts

Atheiſts but thoſe, who pretend to have abſolutely conquer'd, or never been influenced by the Fear of an inviſible Cauſe, that over-rules Human Affairs; and what I ſay now has been and ever will be true in all Countries, and in all Ages, let the Religion or Worſhip of the People be what they will.

Hor. It is better to have no Religion, than to worſhip the Devil.

Cleo. In what Reſpect is it better?

Hor. It is not ſo great an Affront to the Deity not to believe his Exiſtence, as it is to believe him to be the moſt Cruel and the moſt Malicious Being that can be imagin'd.

Cleo. That is a ſubtle Argument, ſeldom made Uſe of but by Unbelievers.

Hor. Don't you think, that many Believers have been worſe Men, than ſome *Atheiſts*?

Cleo. As to Morality, there have been good and bad Men of all Sects and all Perſuaſions; but before we know any Thing of Men's Lives, Nothing can be worſe in the Civil Society, than an Atheiſt, *cæteris paribus*. For it would be ridiculous to ſay, that it is leſs ſafe to truſt to a Man's Principle, of whom we have ſome Reaſon to hope, that he may be with-held by the Fear of Something, than it is to truſt to

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one, who abſolutely denies, that he is withheld by the Fear of any Thing. The old *Mexicans* worſhip'd *Vitzliputzli*, at the ſame Time that they own'd his Malice, and execrated his Cruelty; yet it is highly probable, that ſome of them were deterr'd from Perjury for Fear of being puniſh'd by *Vitzliputzli*; who would have been guilty of it, if they had not been afraid of any Thing at all.

Hor. Then not to have believed the Exiſtence of that chimerical Monſter was Atheiſm in *Mexico*.

Cleo. It certainly was among People that knew of no other inviſible Cauſe.

Hor. But why ſhould I wonder at the *Mexicans*? There are Chriſtians enough, of whom, to judge from their Sentiments and Behaviour, it is hard to determine, which it is they are moſt afraid of, God or the Devil.

Cleo. I don't queſtion, but among the Vulgar, more Perſons have been deterr'd from doing Evil, by what they had heard of the Torments of Hell, than have been made virtuous by what had been told them of the Joys of Heaven, tho' both had been repreſented to them as equally infinite and unutterable.

Hor. But to return to my Queſtion. When

I aſk'd what Occaſion there was for Divines in an Army, I was not ignorant of the Neceſſity there is of having Religion and Prieſts of ſome Sort or other, to humour as well as awe the Multitude; but I wanted to know the Myſtery, and be let into the Secret, by which the Doctrine of Peace is made ſerviceable to the carrying on of War; for that Preachers of the Goſpel have not only exhorted Men to Battle, but likewiſe that they have done it effectually; and that Soldiers have been inſpired with Courage, and made to fight with Obſtinacy by their Sermons, the Hiſtory of almoſt every Country can witneſs.

Cleo. A little Accuracy will ſet us to Rights. That what you ſay has been, and is often done by Sermons and Preachers, both Proteſtant and Popiſh, is certainly true. But I deny, that ever it was once done by a Preacher of the Goſpel.

Hor. I don't underſtand your Diſtinction. Are not all Chriſtian Divines call'd Preachers, as well as Miniſters of the Goſpel?

Cleo. But many People are call'd, what, ſtrictly ſpeaking, they are not. The Reaſon I have for what I ſay is, that there is Nothing contain'd in the Goſpel, that can have the leaſt

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Tendency to promote or juſtify War or Diſcord, Foreign or Domeſtick, Publick or Private; nor is there any the leaſt Expreſſion to be found in it, from which it is poſſible to excite or ſet People on to quarrel with, do Hurt to, or any Ways offend one another, on any Account whatever.

Hor. But this encreaſes the Myſtery, and makes the Fact leſs intelligible.

Cleo. I will unfold it to you. As all Prieſts have ever maintain'd, that they were the Interpreters of the Will of the Deity they pretended to ſerve, and had an undoubted Right of conſtruing and explaining the Doctrine and the Meaning of the Religion they taught and preſided over: As, I ſay, all Prieſts have ever maintain'd this, ſo the Chriſtian Clergy, as ſoon as they took it in their Heads to be Prieſts likewiſe, claim'd the ſame Privilege; and finding ſeveral Things, which they had a Mind to, denied them in the Goſpel; and that many Conveniencies, which all other Prieſts had ever, not only been fond of, but likewiſe enjoy'd, were in expreſs Words forbid, and abſolutely prohibited in the *New Teſtament*, they had Recourſe to the *Old*, and providently took Care from thence to ſupply the Deficiency of the *New*.

Hor.

Hor. So, when they had no ſettled Revenue or Pomp of Dreſs from the Goſpel, they took up with the Tithes and Sacerdotal Ornaments of the *Levites*, and borrow'd from the *Jewiſh* Prieſts and Prophets every Thing that was worth having.

Cleo. This would open too large a Field, and therefore I would look into the Clergy's Behaviour no farther, than as it relates to Armies and military Men, and take Notice, that whenever Pillage or ſhedding of Blood are to be juſtified or encouraged by a Sermon, or Men are to be exhorted to Battle, to the Sacking of a City or the Devaſtation of a Country, by a pathetick Diſcourſe, the Text is always taken from the *Old Teſtament*; which is an inexhauſtible Fund for Declamation on almoſt every Subject and every Occaſion: And there is no worldly End, which the moſt ambitious Man, or the moſt cruel Tyrant can have to ſerve, but from ſome Part or other of that Book a Divine of middling Capacity may find out a proper Text to harangue upon, that ſhall anſwer the Purpoſe. But to make it evident, that Divines may be uſeful to all Fighting Men, without preaching of the Goſpel, we need but to conſider, that among all the Wars

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and Diſſentions, which Chriſtians have had with one another on innumerable Accounts, there never was a Cauſe yet, ſo unreaſonable or abſurd, ſo unjuſt or openly wicked, if it had an Army to back it, that has not found Chriſtian Divines, or at leaſt ſuch as ſtiled themſelves ſo, who have eſpouſed and call'd it Righteous. No Rebellion was ever ſo unnatural, nor Tyranny ſo cruel, but if there were Men who would fight for it, there were Prieſts who would pray for it, and loudly maintain, that it was the Cauſe of God. Nothing is more neceſſary to an Army, than to have this latter ſtrenuouſly inſiſted upon, and ſkilfully inculcated to the Soldiers. No body fights heartily, who believes himſelf to be in the wrong, and that God is againſt him: Whereas a firm Perſuaſion of the Contrary, inſpires Men with Courage and Intrepidity; it furniſhes them with Arguments to juſtify the Malice of their Hearts, and the implacable Hatred they bear their Enemies; it confirms them in the ill Opinion they have of them, and makes them confident of Victory; *ſi Deus pro nobis quis contra nos?* In all Wars it is an everlaſting Maxim in Politicks, that whenever Religion can be brought into the Quarrel, it ought

ought never to be neglected, and that how ſmall ſoever the Difference may be between the contending Parties, the Divines on each Side, ought to magnify and make the moſt of it; for Nothing is more comfortable to Men, than the Thought, that their Enemies are likewiſe the Enemies of God.

Hor. But to make Soldiers laborious as well as governable, would it not be uſeful to exhort them to Virtue, and a cloſe Attachment to the Principle of Honour?

Cleo. The Principle of Honour is never forgot; and as to Virtue, what is required of them is Fortitude, and to do as they are bid. And if you'll conſider what Pains are taken to make them aſhamed of Cowardice above all other Vices; and how prompt, as well as ſevere, the Puniſhment for Diſobedience is in the leaſt Trifles among Soldiers, beyond what it is any where elſe; if, I ſay, you'll conſider theſe Things on the one Hand, and on the other the great Latitude that is given them as to Morals, in what has no Regard to the Service, you'll find, that for the Firſt, Divines are not wanted, and that for the other they can do but little Good. However Morality is often preach'd to them, and even the Goſpel

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at ſeaſonable Times, when they are in Winter Quarters, or in an idle Summer, when there is no Enemy near, and the Troops perhaps are encamped in a Country, where no Hoſtilities ſhould be committed. But when they are to enter upon Action, to beſiege a large Town, or ravage a rich Country, it would be very impertinent to talk to them of Chriſtian Virtues; doing as they would be done by; loving their Enemies, and extending their Charity to all Mankind. When the Foe is at Hand, the Men have Skirmiſhes with him every Day, and perhaps a main Battle is expected; then the Maſk is flung off; not a Word of the Goſpel, nor of Meekneſs or Humility; and all Thoughts of Chriſtianity are laid aſide entirely. The Men are prais'd and buoy'd up in the high Value they have for themſelves: Their Officers call them Gentlemen and Fellow-Soldiers; Generals pull off their Hats to them; and no Artifice is neglected that can flatter their Pride, or inſpire them with the Love of Glory. The Clergy themſelves take Care at ſuch Times, not to mention to them their Sins, or any Thing that is melancholy or diſheartning: On the Contrary, they ſpeak chearfully to them, encourage

and aſſure them of God's Favour. They take Pains to juſtify, and endeavour to encreaſe the Animoſities and Averſion, which thoſe under their Care have againſt their Enemies, whom to blacken and render odious, they leave no Art untried, no Stone unturn'd; and no Calumny can be more malicious, no Story more incredible, nor Falſity more notorious, than have been made Uſe of knowingly for that Purpoſe by Chriſtian Divines, both *Proteſtants*, and *Papiſts*.

Hor. I don't uſe to be an Advocate for Bigots of any Sort, much leſs for Fanaticks, whom I hate; but Facts are ſtubborn Things. It is impoſſible to reflect on the ſharp and bloody Engagements in the Rebellion, and the Devotion of *Cromwell*'s Army, without being convinced, that there muſt have been Men at that Time, that were both Valiant and Religious. It is certain, that the Rebels fought well, and that they had more Days of Faſting and Humiliation, than ever were known among any other Soldiers.

Cleo. That there was a greater Appearance of Religion among them, than ever was among any other regular Troops, I allow; but that none of it could proceed from a Principle of Chriſtianity is demonſtrable. *Hor.*

Hor. They had Men of unqueſtionable Honour among them; and ſome of them muſt have been ſincere.

Cleo. A great many, I verily believe, were ſincere; but let us look into this Affair a little more narrowly. What do you think of the General? Do you think, that *Cromwell* was a good Chriſtian and a pious Man, who had Nothing ſo much at Heart as Religion and Liberty, and, void of Selfiſhneſs, had devoted himſelf to procure Happineſs Eternal as well as Temporal to the People of *England*? Or that he was a vile wicked Hypocrite, who, under the Cloak of Sanctity, broke through all Human and Divine Laws to aggrandize himſelf, and ſacrifis'd every Thing to his own Ambition, and the Intereſt of his Family?

Hor. There is no Doubt, but all impartial Men muſt believe the latter. But then he underſtood Mankind very well; his very Enemies, that were his Contemporaries, allow'd him to be a Man of great Parts. If he had had the the ſame Opinion of Chriſtianity, which you have, and the Unfitneſs of it to make Men quarrel and fight with Obſtinacy, he would never have made Uſe of it among his Soldiers.

Cleo. And it is as clear as the Sun, that he never did.

Hor. That his Pretences to Religion were no more than Hypocriſy, I have allow'd; but it does not appear, that he deſired others to be Hypocrites too: On the Contrary, he took Pains, or at leaſt made Uſe of all poſſible Means to promote Chriſtianity among his Men, and make them ſincerely Religious.

Cleo. You will never diſtinguiſh between Chriſtianity, that is, the Doctrine of Chriſt, and the Interpretations, that are made of it by Clergymen; tho' I have often ſhew'd you the great Difference there is between them. *Cromwell* was a Man of admirable good Senſe, and thoroughly well acquainted with Human Nature; he knew the mighty Force of Enthuſiaſm, and made Uſe of it accordingly. As to Strictneſs of Religion and the Love of Liberty, they had all along been the darling Pretences of the Party he engaged in. The Complaints of the *Puritans* againſt Epiſcopacy, and that the Church of *England* was not ſufficiently reformed, began in Queen *Elizabeth*'s Time, and were very near as old as the Reformation it ſelf. The People's Murmurings and Struggles for Liberty were of ſome Standing, when King

King *Charles* the Firſt came to the Throne: The Jealouſies, which Parliaments had of the Regal Power and Prerogative, had been openly ſhewn in his Father's Reign, and, throughout the Courſe of it, been troubleſome to his Miniſters. That the Clergy of the Church of *England* had enjoin'd Things, and taught what they had no Warrant for from the Goſpel, and that King *James* the Firſt, as well as his Son, who ſucceeded him, laid Claim to a more abſolute Power, than was conſiſtent with the Privileges of Parliament and the Conſtitution, is undeniable. Religion then and Liberty, being Two Topicks, that Abundance was to be ſaid upon in thoſe Days, became the Subject and Foundation of the Quarrels between the King and Parliament, that afterwards broke out into a Civil War.

Hor. I was not born in *China* or *Lapland*: There is not a Boy of Twelve Years old, that is ignorant of the Cauſes of that Civil War.

Cleo. I don't queſtion your Knowledge; but only mention theſe Things, that from the Nature of the Diſſentions, and the Miſchiefs that enſued upon them, we might ſee the Impoſſibility, that either Party ſhould have acted from a Principle of Chriſtianity.

I ſhall now endeavour to demonſtrate to you Two Things; the Firſt is, that Clergymen, by a ſmall Deviation from the Goſpel, may ſo egregiouſly impoſe upon their Hearers, as to make even ſincere Men act quite contrary to the Precepts of it, at the ſame Time that thoſe ſubtle Declaimers ſhall ſeem to be full of Zeal, and to have the higheſt Value for Chriſtianity. The Other is, that in a well diſciplin'd Army, Acts of Devotion, and an outward Shew of Religion may do vaſt Service for the obtaining of Victory, tho' the General who appointed and order'd them, was an *Atheiſt*; the greateſt Part of the Clergy, who perform'd and aſſiſted in them, were Hypocrites, and the Generality of the Men were wicked Livers. As to the Firſt, I call a Man ſincere in his Religion, who believes the Bible to be the Word of God, and acknowledging the Difficulty he finds in obeying the Dictates of the Goſpel, wiſhes with all his Heart, that he could practiſe the Self-denial that is required in it; and is ſorry, that he has not the Power to govern and ſubdue his ſtubborn Paſſions ſo well as he could with. If to ſuch a one, a Clergyman ſhould preach the Strictneſs of Morality, and the Neceſſity of Repentance, that

are taught in the Goſpel, and moreover inculcate to him, that as to Divine Worſhip the Ceremonial was abrogated; that what was required of us, was the Sacrifice of the Heart and the Conqueſt over our darling Luſts; and that in ſhort the Religious Duties of a Chriſtian were ſumm'd up in loving God and his Neighbour; this Doctrine being every Way agreeable to that of *Chriſt*, a ſincere Man, who had read the *New Teſtament*, would eaſily give Ear to a Divine, who ſhould preach it to him; and it is highly probable, that in Matters of Conſcience, and every Thing relating to his Deportment, he ſhould be glad of his Counſel. Suppoſe now, that there was another Clergyman in the ſame City, who likewiſe pretending to preach the Goſpel, ſhould, on the one Hand, repreſent the Doctrine of it as very indulging to Human Nature, and the Practice of it eaſily comply'd with, and, on the other, lay a great Streſs on the Honour to be paid to his own Perſon, and the Performances of a Set of Ceremonies, no where mention'd in the Goſpel; it is not likely, that our ſincere Man ſhould approve of his Sermons; but if this Second Divine ſhould moreover call them Enemies to God, who ſhould refuſe to com-

ply with every Part of these Ceremonies, and give the Name of Hypocrite to Every body, who should assert, that the Gospel required stricter Morality than what he taught; if he should sollicite the Magistrate to have all Persons punish'd, who were not of his Opinion; and if, by his Instigation, our sincere Man should actually be persecuted and plagued by his Fellow-Subjects; to judge from what we know of Human Nature, such Usage would fill the sincere Man with Indignation, and raise his Anger against all those, who were the Occasion of his Sufferings. Let us suppose likewise, that this Man, besides his Sincerity, had Temper and Goodness enough to consider, that, tho' he had been unjustly dealt with, and was highly provok'd, yet his Religion taught and commanded him not to resent Injuries, but to forgive his Enemies, and to Love them that hated him; it is reasonable to think, that this Clashing between Nature and Principle would perplex him, and himself stand in Need of good Advice, what to do in this Dilemma. If in this Case, the Clergyman, who first preached to him the Purity of the Christian Religion, and the Severity of its Morals, and whom he often went to hear, should persist in the same

ſame Sentiments; and, continuing to recommend to him the Doctrine of Peace, make Uſe of all the Arguments, which the Goſpel could furniſh him with, either to warn him againſt Anger and all ſinful Paſſions, Malice of Heart, Hatred and Reſentment; or to exhort him to Fortitude in Afflictions, Heroick Patience in Sufferings, and on all Emergencies an entire Reſignation to the Will of God; If, I ſay, the Clergyman I mention'd ſhould do this, whatever might be the Succeſs he did it with, he would have acted the good Shepherd, and his Sermons could never be made a Handle of for War or Rebellion. But if inſtead of it, he ſhould ſeem to approve of the other's Anger, and, to juſtify it, enter into the Merits of the Cauſe; if he ſhould endeavour to demonſtrate, that all Ceremonies of Human Invention were ſuperſtitious, and that Kneeling down, where there were Pictures and Sculpture, was a manifeſt Token of Idolatry; if after this, by an eaſy Tranſition, he ſhould go over to the *Old Teſtament*, expatiate on the Second Commandment, and produce ſeveral Inſtances of God's Vengeance on Idolaters, and the utter Deſtruction, that had often been brought upon them by God's own People,

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fighting under his Banner, and acting by his ſpecial Commiſſion; If a Preacher ſhould do this, and have Miſchief in his Heart, it would not be difficult for him inſenſibly to miſlead his Hearers, extinguiſh their Charity, and, working upon the Paſſions, make a ſincere Man, who had really been ill treated, miſtake in his own Breaſt the Spirit of Revenge for Religious Zeal, and, to maintain the Truth of the Goſpel, act directly contrary to the Precepts of it. And the more regular the Life was of ſuch a Divine, and the greater the Auſterity of his Manners, the fitter Inſtrument would he be to ſow Sedition, enflame an Audience, and make Tools of them for the Ambitious.

Hor. The Firſt you have made out beyond my Expectation; but it has been at the Expence of your Revolution-Principles; I hope you'll never take them up again.

Cleo. I hope I ſhall have no Occaſion for it: but what I have advanced has Nothing to do with the Controverſy you point at. The illegal Sway of Magiſtrates is not to be juſtified from the Goſpel, any more than the Reſiſtance of the People. Where Two Parties quarrel, and open Animoſities are to be ſeen

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on both Sides, it is ridiculous for either to appeal to the Goſpel. The Right, which Princes have to enjoy their Prerogative, is not more divine, than that which Subjects have to enjoy their Privileges; and if Tyrants will think themſelves more juſtifiable before God than Rebels, they ought firſt to be ſatisfied, that Oppreſſion is leſs heinous in his Sight than Revenge.

Hor. But No body owns himſelf to be a Tyrant.

Cleo. Nor did ever any Malecontents own themſelves to be Rebels.

Hor. I can't give this up, and muſt talk with you about it another Time. But now I long to hear you demonſtrate the Second of your Aſſertions, and make that as evident to me, as you have done the Firſt.

Cleo. I'll endeavour it, if you'll give me Leave, and can have but Patience to hear me, for you'll ſtand in Need of it.

Hor. You are to prove, that Acts of Devotion, and an outward Shew of Religion, may make an Army Victorious, tho' the General was an *Atheiſt*, the Clergy were Hypocrites, and the Generality of the Men wicked Livers.

Cleo. A little more Accuracy, if you pleaſe.

I ſaid, that they might do vaſt Service for the obtaining of Victory; the Service I mean, conſiſts in rouſing the Courage of the Men, and throwing them into an Enthuſiaſm, that ſhall diſſipate their Fears, and make them deſpiſe the greateſt Dangers. There is no greater Art to make Men fight with Obſtinacy, than to make them truſt to, and rely with Confidence on the Aſſiſtance of the inviſible Cauſe, they Fear.

Hor. But how can wicked Men be made to do this? What Reaſons can they be furniſh'd with, to hope for the Aſſiſtance of Heaven?

Cleo. If you can aſſure Men of the Juſtice of their Cauſe, and render that evident and unqueſtionable, the Buſineſs is done, and their own Wickedneſs will be no Obſtacle to it. Therefore this, you ſee, is the Grand Point, which Prieſts have ever labour'd to gain among Fighting Men in all Countries and in all Ages. How immenſely ſoever they have differ'd from one another in Religion and Worſhip, in this they have all agreed. We were ſpeaking, you know, of *Cromwell*'s Army; do but recollect what you have heard and read of thoſe Times, and you'll find, that the Notions and Sentiments, that were induſtriouſly

duſtriouſly inſtill'd into the Minds of the Soldiers, had a manifeſt Tendency to obtain this End, and that all their Preaching and Praying were made ſerviceable to the ſame Purpoſe. The *Credenda*, which the whole Army, and every Individual were imbued with, even by the moſt moderate of their Preachers, were generally theſe: That the King gave Ear to evil Counſellours; that he was govern'd by his Queen, who was a rank Papiſt, bigotted to her own Superſtition; that all his Miniſters were wicked Men, who endeavour'd to ſubvert the Conſtitution, and aim'd at Nothing more than to render him abſolute, that by his Arbitrary Power they might be ſkreen'd from Juſtice, and the Reſentment of an injured Nation: That the Biſhops were in the ſame Intereſt; that, tho' they had abjured the Pope's Supremacy, and found Fault with the Luxury of the Court of *Rome*, they wanted as much to lord it over the Laity themſelves, and were as fond of worldly Honour, Power, and Authority, of Pomp and Splendour, and a diſtinguiſh'd Manner of Living, as any Popiſh Prelates: That the Worſhip of the Church of *England* was above half Popery; that moſt of the Clergy were idle Drones, who lived upon the

the Fat of the Land, and perverted the End of their Function: That by this Means Religion it ſelf was neglected, and, inſtead of it, Rights and Ceremonies were obſtinately inſiſted upon, that were notoriouſly borrow'd from the Heathen and Jewiſh Prieſts. That preaching Non-reſiſtance was juſtifying Tyranny, and could have no other Meaning than to encourage Princes to be wicked, and tie the Peoples Hands, whilſt they ſhould have their Throats cut: That in Purſuance of this Doctrine, He, who ſhould have been the Guardian of their Laws, had already trampled upon them and broken his Coronation-Oath, and, inſtead of being a Father to his People, had openly proclaim'd himſelf their Enemy, invited a Foreign Force into the Land, and was now actually making War againſt the Parliament, the undoubted Repreſentatives of the Nation. Whilſt theſe Things were ſaid of the Adverſe Party, their own was extoll'd to the Skies; and loud Encomiums were made on the Patriotiſm of their Superiours, the Sanctity and Diſintereſtedneſs as well as Wiſdom and Capacity of thoſe Aſſerters of Liberty, who had reſcued them from Bondage. Sometimes they ſpoke of the Care, that was taken of Religion,

and

and a Pains-taking Miniſtry, that preach'd not themſelves but *Chriſt*, and, by their Example as well as Precept, taught the Purity of the Goſpel, and the ſtrict Morality that is contain'd in it, without Superſtition or Allowances to pleaſe Sinners: At others, they repreſented to their Hearers the exemplary Lives of the Generals, the Sobriety of the Soldiers, and the Goodneſs and Piety, as well as Zeal and Heroiſm of the whole Army.

Hor. But what is all this to what you was to prove? I want to know the vaſt Service an outward Shew of Religion can be of to wicked Men, for the obtaining of Victory: When ſhall I ſee that?

Cleo. Preſently; but you muſt give me Leave to prove it my own Way. In what I have ſaid hitherto, I have only laid before you the Artifice, which Every body knows was made Uſe of by the *Roundheads* in haranguing their own Troops, to render the *Cavaliers* and the King's Cauſe odious and deteſtable to them on the one Hand, and to make them, on the other, have an high Opinion of their own, and firmly believe, that God could not but favour it. Now let us call to Mind the Situation of Affairs in the Times I ſpeak of, and the Poli-

ticks

ticks of thoſe, who oppoſed the King, and then conſider, what a crafty deſigning General ought to have done to make the moſt of the Conjuncture he lived in, and the Zeal and Spirit that were then reigning among the Party he was engaged in; if he had Nothing at Heart, but to advance, *per fas aut nefas*, his own worldly Intereſt and his own Glory: In the Firſt Place, it would never have been believed that the *Preſbyters* were in Earneſt, who found Fault with and rail'd at the Luxury and looſe Morals, as well as Lazineſs of the National Clergy, if they had not been more diligent in their Calling, and led ſtricter Lives themſelves. This therefore was complied with, and the diſſenting Clergy took vaſt Pains in Praying and Preaching without Book for Hours together, and practis'd much greater Self-denial, at leaſt to outward Appearance, than their Adverſaries. The Laity of the ſame Side, to compaſs their End, were obliged to follow the Example of their Teachers in Severity of Manners, and Pretences to Religion: Accordingly they did, at leaſt well enough, you ſee, to acquire the Name of the Sober Party.

Hor. Then you muſt think, that they had none but Hypocrites among them.

Cleo.

Cleo. Indeed I don't; but I believe, that moſt of the Ring-leaders who began the Quarrel with the King had Temporal Advantages in View, or other private Ends to ſerve, that had no Relation either to the Service of God or the Welfare of the People; and yet I believe likewiſe, that many ſincere and well-meaning Men were drawn into their Meaſures. When a Reformation of Manners is once ſet on Foot, and ſtrict Morality is well ſpoken of, and countenanc'd by the better Sort of People, the very Faſhion will make Proſelytes to Virtue. Swearing and not Swearing in Converſation depend upon Mode and Cuſtom. Nothing is more reaſonable, than Temperance and Honeſty to Men that conſult their Health and their Intereſt; where Men are not debarr'd from Marriage, Chaſtity is eaſily comply'd with, and prevents a Thouſand Miſchiefs. There is Nothing more univerſal than the Love of Liberty; and there is Something engaging in the Sound of the Words. The Love of one's Country is natural; and very bad Men may feel it as warm about them, as very good Men; and it is a Principle, which a Man may as ſincerely act from, who Fights againſt his King, as he who Fights for him. But theſe ſincere and

well-meaning People, that can pray and fight, ſing Pſalms and do Miſchief with a good Conſcience, may in many Reſpects be Morally good, and yet want moſt of the Virtues, that are peculiar to Chriſtianity, and, if the Goſpel ſpeaks Truth, neceſſary to Salvation. A Man may be continent and likewiſe never drink to Exceſs, and yet be haughty and inſupportable in his Carriage, a litigious Neighbour, an unnatural Father, and a barbarous Huſband. He may be juſt in his Dealings, and wrong No body in his Property, yet he may be full of Envy, take Delight in Slander, be revengeful in his Heart, and never known to have forgiven an Injury. He may abſtain from Curſing and all idle as well as prophane Swearing, and at the ſame Time be uncharitable and wiſh Evil to all, that are not of his Opinion; nay, he may mortally hate, and take Pleaſure in perſecuting and doing Miſchief to, all thoſe who differ from him in Religion.

Hor. I ſee plainly now, how Men may be ſincere in their Religion, and by Art be made to act quite contrary to the Precepts of it: And your Manner of accounting for this, does not only render the Sober Party leſs odious, than the Orthodox have repreſented them; but

but there is likewiſe greater Probability in it, than there is in what they generally ſay of them: For that an Army of a great many Thouſand Men ſhould conſiſt of None but Hypocrites, who yet ſhould fight well, is an inconceivable Thing. But what is it you would ſay of the General?

Cleo. I would ſhew you, how an obſcure Man, of an active Spirit and boundleſs Ambition, might raiſe himſelf among ſuch a Set of People to the higheſt Poſt; and having once got the Supreme Command of the Army, what Method, and what Arts it is moſt probable he would make Uſe of to model ſuch Troops to his Purpoſe, and make them ſerviceable to the Advancement of his own Greatneſs.

Hor. But remember he muſt be an *Atheiſt*.

Cleo. He ſhall be ſo, in the Vulgar Acceptation of the Word; that is, he ſhall have no Religion or Conſcience; fear neither God nor Devil, and not believe either a Providence in this World, or any Thing that is ſaid of another: But he muſt be a great Genius, daring to the higheſt Degree, indefatigable, ſupple to his Intereſt, and ready as well as capable to act any Part, and put on any Diſguiſe, that ſhall be re-

quired to ſerve or promote it. Every briſk, forward Man, who pretends to an extraordinary Zeal for his Party, and the Cauſe he is engaged in, and who ſhews Eagerneſs for Action, and behaves with Intrepidity in Danger, cannot remain long unknown, where Men have frequent Opportunities of ſignalizing themſelves. But if he be likewiſe a Man of Senſe, who underſtands his Buſineſs, and has Conduct as well as Courage, he can't fail of Preferment in an Army, where the Intereſt of the common Cauſe is taken Care of. If he ſerves among *Puritans*, who pretend to a ſtricter Morality, and to be more religious than their Neighbours, and himſelf is an artful Man, as ſoon as he is taken Notice of, he'll fall in with the Cant in Faſhion, talk of Grace and Regeneration, counterfeit Piety, and ſeem to be ſincerely Devout. If he can do this well, put on a ſanctify'd Face, and abſtain from being openly vicious, it is incredible what Luſtre it will add to the Reſt of his Qualifications, in ſuch a Conjuncture: And if moreover he is a Man of Addreſs, and can get the Reputation of being diſintereſted and a Soldier's Friend, in a ſhort Time he'll become the Darling of the Army; and it would hardly

hardly be ſafe long to deny him any Poſt, he can reaſonably pretend to. In all Wars, where the contending Parties are in good Earneſt, and the Animoſities between them run high, Campaigns are always active, and many brave Men muſt fall on both Sides; and where there ſhould be much Room for Advancement, it is highly probable, that ſuch a Man as I have deſcrib'd, if at his firſt ſetting out he was Captain of Horſe, and had raiſed an entire Troop at his own Charge, ſhould in a few Years come to be a General Officer, and of great Weight in all Councils and Debates. Being thus far preferr'd, if he would make the moſt of his Talents, he might be of infinite Service to his Party. An aſpiring Man, whoſe grand Aim was to thrive by Hypocriſy, would ſtudy the Scripture, learn the Language of it, and occaſionally mix it with his Diſcourſe. He would cajole the Clergy of his Party, and often do good Offices to thoſe of them that were moſt popular. A Man of his Parts would preach *ex tempore* himſelf, and get the Knack of Praying for as many Hours as there ſhould be Occaſion. Whoever is well ſkill'd in theſe Exerciſes may counterfeit Enthuſiaſm when he pleaſes, and pretend on ſome Emergencies

to receive Directions from God himſelf; and that he is manifeſtly influenc'd by his Spirit. A General Officer, who has once got this Reputation, may carry almoſt any Thing; for Few that are wiſe will venture to oppoſe what ſuch a Man, pretending to have ſought the Lord, declares to be his Opinion. Whatever Victories might be obtain'd, and in all Succeſſes under his Command, a ſkilful Hypocrite would make a Shew of Modeſty, refuſe to hear the Praiſes that are his due, and ſeem with great Humility to give all the Glory to God only; not forgetting, at the ſame Time, to flatter the Pride of his Troops, highly to commend and magnify, firſt the Goodneſs and Bravery of the Soldiers, and then the Care and Vigilance of the Officers under him. To be well ſerv'd, he would reward Merit, puniſh and diſcountenance Vice, always ſpeak well and magnificently of Virtue, and ſeem to be juſt himſelf. But as to Chriſtianity it ſelf, he would not ſuffer any Thing to be taught of it, that could interfere with the Principle of Honour, or any of the Artifices to keep up the Ill Will, and Hatred which military Men are to be inſpired with againſt their Enemies. The Chriſtian Duties, which he would chiefly take

take Care of and ſee perform'd, would be outward Acts of Devotion, and that Part of Religion which is eaſily comply'd with, and yet taken Notice of by all the World; ſuch as frequent Prayers, long and pathetick Sermons, ſinging of Pſalms, and the keeping of the Sabbath with great Strictneſs; all which Men may aſſiſt at and employ themſelves in, tho' their Hearts are otherwiſe engag'd. It is certain, that a Man of vaſt Parts and ſuperlative Ambition might, by the Divine Permiſſion, perform, take Care of, and compaſs all this, tho' he was an *Atheiſt*; and that he might live and die with the Reputation of a Saint, if he was but circumſpect and wiſe enough to conceal himſelf ſo entirely well, that no Penetration or Watchfulneſs of Mortals could ever diſcover his real Sentiments. There is no Atchievement to be expected from Soldiers, which they would not perform for ſuch a General; and his Name would be ſufficient to fill the greateſt Profligate in an Army with a Religious Enthuſiaſm, if he diſbelieved not an inviſible Cauſe.

Hor. There lies the Difficulty; it is that which I cannot comprehend.

Cleo. Wickedneſs, I have hinted to you before, is no Bar to Superſtition; and a great

Profligate may at the ſame Time be a ſilly Fellow, believe Abſurdities, and rely on Trifles, which a Man of Senſe and Virtue could not be influenc'd or affected by. It is eaſily imagin'd, that in ſuch an Army, under ſuch a General as I have been ſpeaking of, the Men would be kept under ſtrict Diſcipline; and that they would not only be compell'd, whether they would or not, to aſſiſt at all their Exerciſes of outward Devotion and Publick Worſhip; but likewiſe that the looſeſt Livers among them ſhould be obliged to be more cautious and circumſpect in their Behaviour, than Soldiers generally are. Now ſuppoſe a Man ſo wicked, that, tho' he has no Doubt of a Future State, the Belief of Rewards and Puniſhments in another World made no Impreſſion upon him; but that he indulged every vicious Inclination as far as he dared, lay with every Woman that would let him, and got drunk as often as he could get an Opportunity to do it; one that would ſtick at Nothing, rob or ſteal, kill a Man that ſhould anger him, if he was not with-held by the Law, and the Fear of Temporal Puniſhment: Suppoſe likewiſe, that this was one of the loweſt Mob, who being in Want, and too lazy to

work

work, ſhould liſt himſelf in ſome Regiment or other of this Army. There is no Doubt, but this Man would be forc'd immediately to have a greater Guard upon his Actions, and reform, at leaſt outwardly, more than would ſuit with his Inclinations, and therefore it is not unlikely, that, what Duties ſoever he might comply with, and whatever Appearance he might make among the Reſt, in his Heart he ſhould remain the ſame he was before. Yet notwithſtanding all this, in a little Time he might make a very good Soldier. I can eaſily conceive, how the Wearing of a Sword and Regimental Cloaths, and always converſing with reſolute and well diſciplin'd Men, among whom Arms and Gallantry are in the higheſt Eſteem, might ſo far encreaſe a wicked Fellow's Pride, that he ſhould wiſh to be brave, and in a few Months think Nothing more really dreadful, than to be thought a Coward. The Fear of Shame may act as powerfully upon bad Men, as it can upon good; and the Wickedneſs of his Heart would not hinder him from having a good Opinion of himſelf, and the Cauſe he ſerved; nor yet from hating his Enemies or taking Delight in deſtroying, plundering, and doing all Manner of Miſchief.

Hor.

Hor. But having no Regard to Godlineſs or Religion, it is impoſſible, that he ſhould be influenc'd or affected by the Prayers or other Exerciſes of Devotion, which he might aſſiſt at and which, in all Probability, he would never come near, unleſs he was compell'd to it.

Cleo. I don't ſuppoſe, that he would be influenced or affected by them at all himſelf; but he might eaſily believe, that others were. I take it for granted, that in ſuch an Army there might have been Abundance of well-meaning Men, that were really honeſt, and ſincere in their Religion, tho' they had been miſled in what concern'd the Duties of it. From the Behaviour of theſe, and the Imitation of others, from the Exemplary Lives, which our Reprobate ſhould ſee among them, and the eſtabliſh'd Reputation of ſo many Men of Honour, he would have all the Reaſon in the World to think, that at leaſt the greateſt Part of them were in good Earneſt; that they relied upon God; and that the fervent Zeal, with which they ſeem'd to implore his Aſſiſtance, was real and unfeign'd. All wicked Men are not inflexible; and there are great Sinners, whom this Conſideration would move to the quick; and tho' perhaps it would not be of

Force

Force enough to reclaim them, there are many, who, by Means of it, would be made to relent, and wiſh that they were better. But I don't want this Help; and we'll ſuppoſe our Profligate ſuch a ſtubborn Wretch, and ſo obſtinately vicious, that the moſt moving Diſcourſes, and the moſt fervent Prayers, tho' he is forc'd to aſſiſt at them, have not the leaſt Power to make him reflect either on his Sins or his Duty; and that notwithſtanding what he hears and ſees of others, his Heart remains as bad as ever, and himſelf as immoral as he dares to be for Fear of his Officers. We'll ſuppoſe, I ſay, all this; but as it is taken for granted, that he believes the World to be govern'd by Providence ——.

Hor. But why ſhould that be taken for granted, of a Fellow ſo thoroughly wicked?

Cleo. Becauſe it is included in his Belief of a Future State, which, in his Character, I ſuppoſed him not to doubt of.

Hor. I know it; but what Reaſon had you to ſuppoſe this at Firſt, in a Man who never gave any Signs, nor ever did inſinuate, for ought you know, that he had ſuch a Belief?

Cleo. Becauſe he never gave any Signs to the Contrary; and in a Chriſtian Country,

I ſuppoſe all Men to believe the Exiſtence of a God and a Future State, who, by ſpeaking or writing, never declared, that they did not. Wickedneſs conſiſting in an unreaſonable Gratification of every Paſſion that comes uppermoſt, it is ſo far from implying Unbelief, or what is call'd Atheiſm, that it rather excludes it. Becauſe the Fear of an inviſible Cauſe is as much a Paſſion in our Nature, as the Fear of Death. I have hinted to you before, that great Cowards, whilſt they are in Health and Safety, may live many Years without diſcovering the leaſt Symptom of the Fear of Death, ſo as to be viſibly affected by it; but that this is no Sign, that they have it not, is evident when they are in Danger. It is the ſame with the Fear of an inviſible Cauſe; the one is as much born with us as the other, and to conquer either, is more difficult than is eaſily imagin'd. The Fear of an inviſible Cauſe is univerſal, how widely ſoever Men may differ in the Worſhip of it; and it was never obſerved among a Multitude, that the worſt were more backward than the beſt in believing whatever from their Infancy they had heard concerning this inviſible Cauſe; how abſurd or ſhocking ſoever that might have been. The

moſt

moſt Wicked are often the moſt Superſtitious, and as ready as any to believe Witchcraft, conſult Fortune-tellers, and make Uſe of Charms. And tho' among the moſt brutiſh Part of the Mob, we ſhould meet with Some, that neither pray nor pay Worſhip to any Thing, laugh at Things ſacred, and openly diſclaim all Religion, we could have no Reaſon to think, even from theſe, that they acted from Principles of Infidelity, when from their Behaviour and many of their Actions, it ſhould be manifeſt, that they apprehended Something or other, that could do them Good or Hurt, and yet is inviſible. But as to the vileſt Reprobates among the Vulgar, from their very Curſes and the moſt prophane of their Oaths and Imprecations, it is plain, that they are Believers.

Hor. That's far fetch'd.

Cleo. I don't think ſo. Can a Man wiſh himſelf damn'd, without ſuppoſing, that there is ſuch a Thing as Damnation. Believe me, *Horatio*, there are no *Atheiſts* among the Common People: You never knew any of them entirely free from Superſtition, which always implies Belief: And whoever lays any Streſs upon Predictions, upon good or bad Omens; or does but think, that ſome Things are lucky

and

and others unlucky, muſt believe, that there is an over-ruling Power, which meddles with, and interferes in Human Affairs.

Hor. I muſt yield this to you, I think.

Cleo. If then our wicked, obdurate Soldier believes, that there is a God, and that the World is govern'd by Providence, it is impoſſible, when Two Armies are to engage, but he muſt think, that it is very material, and a Thing of the higheſt Importance, which of them God will be pleas'd to favour, and wiſh with all his Heart, that Heaven would be of his Side. Now, if he knows that the Troops, he ſerves among, have gain'd ſeveral Advantages over their Enemies, and that he has been an Eye-witneſs of this himſelf, he muſt neceſſarily think, that God has a greater Regard to them, than he has to thoſe that are beaten by them. It is certain, that a Man, who is ſtrongly perſuaded of this, will be more undaunted, and with the ſame Degree of Skill, Malice and Strength, fight better than he could do, if he believ'd the Contrary. It is evident then, that the moſt abandon'd Raſcal in a Chriſtian Army may be made a valuable Man on the Score of Fighting, as ſoon as he can be perſuaded, that God takes his Part, tho'

he

he never made any further Reflection: But it is inconceivable, that a Man ſhould firmly believe what I have ſaid without reflecting one Time or other on what might be the Cauſe of this particular Favour, this viſible Aſſiſtance of Heaven; and if ever he did, could he help thinking on the Preaching and Praying, which he was daily preſent at; and would he not be forced from all the Circumſtances to believe, that thoſe Things were acceptable to God; and conclude upon the whole, that thoſe Religious Exerciſes were a proper Means to obtain God's Friendſhip? Would he not be very much confirm'd in this Opinion, if he ſaw or but heard of credible People, that, in the Enemy's Army, the Men were more cold and remiſs in their Worſhip, or at leaſt, that they made a leſs outward Shew of Devotion, which is all that he ſhould be able ro judge by?

Hor. But why ſhould you think, that ſuch an abandon'd, obdurate Fellow, as you have ſuppoſed him to be, ſhould ever trouble his Head with the Difference in Worſhip between one Army and another, or ever think at all on any Thing relating to Devotion?

Cleo. Becauſe it would be impoſſible for him to help it. I have not ſuppoſed, that he

was either Deaf or Blind: The Things I named, and which I imagin'd he would be forc'd to believe, would be rung in his Ears, and repeated to him over and over from every Quarter: The Soldiers would be full of them; the Officers would talk of them. He would be present at the ſolemn Thanksgivings, they paid to Heaven. The Preachers would often be loud in commending the Godlineſs as well as Bravery of the Army, and roar out the Praiſes of their General, that ſanctify'd Veſſel, whom they would call a *Gideon*, a *Joſhua*, a *Moſes*, that glorious Inſtrument, which God had raiſed and made Uſe of to reſcue his Church from Idolatry and Superſtition, and his Saints from Tyranny and Oppreſſion. They would exclaim againſt the Wickedneſs and Immorality of their Enemies, inveigh againſt Lawn-Sleeves and Surplices, Altar-Pieces, and Common-Prayers; call the Orthodox Clergy, the Prieſts of *Baal*, and aſſure their Hearers, that the Lord hated the *Cavaliers*; that they were an Abomination to him, and that he would certainly deliver them into the Hands of his choſen People. When a Man is obliged to hear all this, and ſees moreover the Spirit and Alacrity that is raiſed in his Com-

rades

rades after a moving extemporary Prayer, the real Enthuſiaſm the Men are thrown into by the Singing of a Pſalm, and the Tears of Zeal and Joy run down the Cheeks of Men, whom he knows to be Faithful and Sincere, as well as Reſolute and Daring. When a Man, I ſay, ſuch a one as I have deſcrib'd, ſhould be forc'd to hear and ſee all this, it would hardly be poſſible for him, not to believe, in the firſt Place, that God actually aſſiſted this Army; and in the Second, that the Means, by which that Aſſiſtance was procured, were the Strictneſs of the Diſcipline and the Religious Duties, that were obſerved in it; tho' he himſelf ſhould never Join in the one, or Submit to the other, but againſt his Will, and with the utmoſt Reluctancy. I am perſuaded, that ſuch an Opinion, well rivetted in a Man, would, in ſuch an Army as I am ſpeaking of, be of vaſt Uſe to him in all Adventures and Expeditions of War; and that, if he was fit at all to be made a Soldier, it would in the Day of Battle inſpire him with a Confidence and Undauntedneſs, which the ſame Man could never have acquired, *Cæteris Paribus*, if he had ſerved among other Troops, where Divine Worſhip had been little inſiſted upon, or but ſlightly

perform'd. And if this be true, I have proved to you, that Acts of Devotion, and an outward Shew of Religion, may be ſerviceable to the greateſt Profligate for the obtaining of Victory, tho' the General ſhould be an *Atheiſt*, moſt of the Clergy Hypocrites, and the greateſt Part of the Army wicked Men.

Hor. I can ſee very well the Poſſibility, that a few Profligates, among a great many others, that were not ſo, might be kept in Awe by ſtrict Diſcipline, and that Acts of Devotion might be ſerviceable even to thoſe, who were preſent at them againſt their Wills. But this Poſſibility is only built upon a Suppoſition, that the Reſt of the Army ſhould be better diſpoſed: For if the Generality of them were not in Earneſt, you could have no outward Shew of Religion; and the Things which you ſay the obdurate wretch ſhould be forced to hear and ſee, could have no Exiſtence. No Preaching or Praying can be moving to thoſe, that are harden'd and inattentive; and no Man can be thrown into an Enthuſiaſm upon the Singing of Pſalms, and ſhed Tears of Zeal and Joy in any Part of Divine Worſhip, unleſs they give Heed to it, and are really Devout.

Cleo

Cleo. I am glad you ſtart this Objection; for it puts me in Mind of Something, that will ſerve to illuſtrate this whole Matter, and which, if you had not mention'd this, I ſhould have had no Opportunity to ſpeak of. I took for granted, you know, that in the Quarrel between the King and the People, there had been many honeſt well meaning Men, among the Sober Party, that by Artifice were drawn into the Meaſures of cunning Hypocrites, who, under ſpecious Pretences, carried on the Rebellion with no other View than their own Advantage. But if you recollect what I ſaid then, you'll find, that many of thoſe honeſt well-meaning Men might have been very bad Chriſtians. A Man may be a fair Dealer, and wiſh well to his Country, and yet be very wicked in many other Reſpects. But whatever Vices he may be guilty of, if he believes the Scriptures without Reſerve, is ſorry for his Sins, and ſometimes really afraid, that he ſhall be puniſh'd for them in another World, he is certainly ſincere in his Religion, tho' he never mends. Some of the moſt wicked in the World have been great Believers. Conſider all the Money, that has been given to pray Souls out of Purgatory, and who

they were, that left the greateſt Legacies to the Church. The Generality of Mankind believe what they were taught in their Youth, let that be what it will, and there is no Superſtition ſo groſs or abſurd, nor any Thing ſo improbable or contradictory in any Religion, but Men may be ſincere in the Belief of it. What I ſay all this for is to ſhew you, that an honeſt well-meaning Man may believe the Bible and be ſincere in his Religion, when he is yet very remote from being a good Chriſtian. What I underſtand then by Sincere is evident: Now give me Leave to tell you what I mean by Wicked, and to put you in Mind of what I have ſaid of it already; *viz.* that I gave that Name to thoſe, *who indulge their Paſſions as they come uppermoſt, without Regard to the Good or Hurt, which the Gratification of their Appetites may do to the Society.* But all wicked Men are not equally neglectful of Religious Duties, nor equally inflexible; and you won't meet with one in a Hundred ſo ſtubborn and averſe to all Senſe of Divine Worſhip, as I have ſuppoſed our Profligate to be. My Reaſon for drawing ſo bad a Character, was to convince you, that, if an outward Shew of Religion could be made ſerviceable to the moſt

ſtubborn

ſtubborn Reprobate, it could never fail of having a good Effect upon all others, that ſhould be more relenting, and aſſiſt at it with leſs Reluctancy. Few Men are wicked for Want of good Will to be better: The greateſt Villains have Remorſes; and hardly any of them are ſo bad, that the Fear of an inviſible Cauſe and future Puniſhment ſhould never make any Impreſſion upon them; if not in Health, at leaſt in Sickneſs. If we look narrowly into the Sentiments, as well as Actions even of thoſe that perſiſt in evil Courſes for many Years, and ſpend their whole Lives in Debaucheries, we ſhall hardly ever find, that it is becauſe they are obſtinately bent to be Wicked; but becauſe they want either the Power to govern their Paſſions, or elſe the Reſolution to ſet about it; that they have often wiſh'd, that they could lead better Lives; that they hope, God will forgive them; and that ſeveral Times they have fix'd a Time for their Repentance, but that always Something or other interven'd, that has hinder'd them, till at laſt they died without having ever met with the Opportunity they wiſh'd for. Such Men as theſe perhaps would never go to Prayers, or to hear a Sermon as long as they lived, if they could help

help it: But moſt of them, if they were forc'd to it, would behave very well, and actually receive Benefit from being there; eſpecially in Armies, where Nothing being leſs wanted than contrite Hearts and broken Spirits, Nothing is mention'd that is mortifying, or would depreſs the Mind; and if ever any thing melancholy is ſlightly touch'd upon, it is done with great Art, and only to make a Contraſt with Something reviving, that is immediately to follow, which will flatter their Pride, and make them highly delighted with themſelves. All Exhortations to Battle ſhould be chearful and pleaſing. What is required of the Men, is, that they ſhould Fight undauntedly and obſtinately. Therefore all Arts are made uſe of to raiſe and keep up their Spirits on the one Hand, and their Hatred to their Enemies on the other. To diſſipate their Fears, they are aſſured of the Juſtice and Goodneſs of their Cauſe, that God himſelf is engaged, and his Honour concern'd in it; and that therefore, if they can but ſhew Zeal enough for him, and are not wanting to themſelves, they need not doubt of the Victory.

Hor. It is amazing, that Believers, who are ſo conſcious of their own Wickedneſs, ſhould be

be ſo eaſily perſuaded, that God would do any Thing in their Favour.

Cleo. The great Propenſity we have in our Nature to flatter our ſelves, makes us eaſy Caſuiſts in our own Concerns. Every body knows, that God is merciful, and that all Men are Sinners. The Thought of this has often been a great Comfort to very bad Livers, eſpecially if they could remember, that ever they wiſh'd to be better; which, among Believers, there is not One in a Hundred, but can. This good Diſpoſition of Mind a wicked Man may make a notable Conſtruction of, and magnify the Merit of it, till the Reflection of it is ſufficient to make his Conſcience eaſy, and he abſolves himſelf without the Trouble of Repentance. I can eaſily conceive, how one of the Vulgar, no better qualify'd, may aſſiſt at Publick Worſhip with Satisfaction, and even Pleaſure; if Preaching and Praying are managed in the Manner I have hinted at: And it is not difficult to imagine, how by a little paultry Eloquence, and Violence of Geſtures, a Man in this Situation may be hurried away from his Reaſon, and have his Paſſions ſo artfully play'd upon; that feeling himſelf thoroughly moved, he ſhall miſtake the Ma-

lice of his Heart, and perhaps the Reſentment of a great Wound received, for the Love of God and Zeal for Religion. There is another Claſs of wicked Men, that I have not touch'd upon yet; and of which there would always be great Numbers among ſuch Troops as we have been ſpeaking of, *viz.* Soldiers of the Sober Party, where Swearing, Prophaneneſs, and all open Immorality are actually puniſh'd; where a grave Deportment and ſtrict Behaviour are encouraged, and where Scripture-Language and Pretences to Holineſs are in Faſhion; in an Army of which the General is firmly believed to be a Saint, and acts his part to Admiration.

Hor. It is reaſonable to think, I own, that in ſuch an Army, to one ſincere Man, there would always be three or four Hypocrites; for theſe I ſuppoſe are the Claſs you mean.

Cleo. They are ſo. And conſidering, that, to ſave Appearances, Hypocrites are at leaſt as good as the ſincere Men I have ſpoken of, it is impoſſible, that there ſhould not be a great Shew of Religion among them, if there were but eight or ten of them ſincere in every Hundred: And where ſuch Pains ſhould be taken to make the Men ſeem to be Godly; and this

Point

Point of outward Worſhip ſhould be labour'd with ſo much Diligence and Aſſiduity, I am perſuaded, that many even of thoſe, who ſhould be too wicked to be Hypocrites, and to counterfeit long, would ſometimes, not only pray in good Earneſt, but likewiſe, ſet on by the Examples before them, be tranſported with real Zeal for the Good of their Cauſe.

Hor. There is no Doubt but Enthuſiaſm among a Multitude is as catching as Yawning: But I don't underſtand very well what you mean by too wicked to be Hypocrites; for I look upon them to be the worſt of all Men.

Cleo. I am very glad you named this. There are two Sorts of Hypocrites, that differ very much from one another. To diſtinguiſh them by Names, the One I would call the Malicious, and the Other the Faſhionable. By malicious Hypocrites, I mean Such as pretend to a great Deal of Religion, when they know their Pretenſions to be falſe; who take Pains to appear Pious and Devout, in order to be Villains, and in Hopes that they ſhall be truſted to get an Opportunity of deceiving thoſe, who believe them to be ſincere. Faſhionable Hypocrires I call thoſe, who, without any Motive of Religion, or Senſe of Duty, go to Church,

Church, in Imitation of their Neighbours; counterfeit Devotion, and, without any Deſign upon others, comply occaſionally with all the Rites and Ceremonies of Publick Worſhip, from no other Principle than an Averſion to Singularity, and a Deſire of being in the Faſhion. The firſt are, as you ſay, the worſt of Men: but the other are rather beneficial to Society, and can only be injurious to themſelves.

Hor. Your Diſtinction is very juſt, if theſe latter deſerve to be call'd Hypocrites at all.

Cleo. To make a Shew outwardly of what is not felt within, and counterfeit what is not real, is certainly Hypocriſy, whether it does Good or Hurt.

Hor. Then, ſtrictly ſpeaking, good Manners and Politeneſs muſt come under the ſame Denomination.

Cleo. I remember the Time you would by no Means have allow'd this.

Hor. Now, you ſee I do, and freely own, that you have given me great Satisfaction this Afternoon; only there is one Thing you ſaid five or ſix Minutes ago, that has raiſed a Difficulty which I don't know how to get over.

Cleo. What is it, pray?

Hor. I don't think we ſhall have Time ——

Cleo. Supper, I ſee, is going in. THE

THE

Fourth Dialogue

BETWEEN

Horatio and *Cleomenes.*

Horatio.

I Am glad my little Dinner pleaſed you. I don't love large Pieces of Meat for a ſmall Company; eſpecially in warm Weather: They heat the Room, and are offenſive even upon a Side-board.

Cleo. It was very handſome indeed; and *Horatio* is elegant in every Thing. Your Favours of Yeſterday, your Coming without Form, was ſo engaging, that I was reſolved to repay the Compliment without Delay.

Hor

Hor. Aſſure your ſelf, that your Payment is not more prompt, than it is welcome.

Cleo. I know no higher Enjoyment, than that of your Friendſhip. But pray, what was the Difficulty you hinted at laſt Night, when Supper broke off our Diſcourſe?

Hor. When you ſpoke of Preaching and Praying in Armies, you ſaid, that Nothing was ever mention'd to them, that was mortifying, or would depreſs the Mind. I had heard the ſame from you in Subſtance more than once before; and I own, that the Nature of the Thing ſeems to require, that Soldiers ſhould be indulg'd in their Pride, and that all Exhortations to Battle ſhould be chearful and pleaſing. But the laſt Time you was ſpeaking of this, I recollected what I had read of the Solemn Faſts, that were ſo frequently obſerved in *Oliver*'s Days; and preſently I was puzled, and no ways able to account for the Uſefulneſs of them in War, by the Syſtem which you had made appear to be very rational. The Fact it ſelf, that *Cromwell* appointed many Days of Faſting and Humiliation, and made them be ſtrictly kept, is undeniable; but it is impoſſible, they ſhould promote Chearfulneſs; and what Purpoſe they could

could have been made to ſerve, that was not religious, I can not conceive. The mechanical Effect, which Faſting can have upon the Spirits, is to lower, flatten, and depreſs them; and the very Eſſence of Humiliation is the Mortification of Pride. You have own'd, that *Cromwell* underſtood Human Nature, and was a crafty Politician; but you would never allow, that he had the leaſt Intention of promoting Piety, or rendring his Men good Chriſtians.

Cleo. The Objection you have ſtarted ſeems to be of great Weight at firſt View; but if we look more narrowly into it, and examine this Affair, as we have done ſome other Things, the Difficulty you labour under will ſoon diſappear. From the Nature of Man and Society it muſt follow, that whatever particular Vices may be more or leſs predominant in different Climates and different Ages, Luxury and Pride will always be reigning Sins in all civiliz'd Nations: Againſt theſe two ſtubborn, and always epidemic Maladies, the great Phyſician of the Soul has, in his Goſpel Diſpenſation, left us two ſovereign Remedies, Faſting and Humiliation; which, when rightly uſed, and duely aſſiſted with the Exerciſe of Prayer, never fail to cure the Diſeaſes I named in the moſt

deſperate Caſes. No Method likewiſe is more reaſonable; for, tho' *Jeſus Chriſt* had not recommended it himſelf, it is impoſſible to think on any Preſcription, more judiciouſly adapted to an Ailment, than Faſting and Humiliation, accompany'd with fervent Prayer, are to Luxury and Pride. This is the Reaſon, that in private as well as public Diſaſters, and all Adverſities in which it was thought that the divine Anger was viſible, all Believers in *Chriſt* have, ever ſince the Promulgation of the Goſpel, made uſe of the aforeſaid Remedies, as the moſt proper Means to obtain Pardon for their Offences, and render Heaven propitious to them. All Magiſtrates likewiſe, where the Chriſtian Religion has been national, have in general Misfortunes and all great Calamities (whenever they happen'd) appointed Days to be ſolemnly kept, and ſet aſide for Prayer, for Faſting and Humiliation. If on theſe Days Men ſhould be ſincere in their Devotion; if a pains-taking Clergy, of Apoſtolic Lives, on the one Hand, ſhould preach Repentance to their Hearers, and ſhew them the Difference between the temporal Evils, which they complain'd of, tho' they were leſs afflicting than they had deſerv'd, and the eternal Miſeries, which impe-

impenitent Sinners would unavoidably meet with, tho' now they thought little of them; if the Hearers, on the other, ſearching their Conſciences without Reſerve, ſhould reflect upon their paſt Conduct; if both the Clergy and the Laity ſhould thus join in religious Exerciſes, and, adding real Faſting to ardent Prayer, humble themſelves before the Throne of Mercy, with Sorrow and Contrition; if, I ſay, the Days you ſpeak of were to be ſpent in this Manner, they could be of uſe in no War, but againſt the World, the Fleſh, or the Devil, the only Enemies a Chriſtian Hero is not oblig'd to love, and over which the Triumph is the darling Object of his Ambition, and the glorious End of his Warfare. On the Contrary, ſuch Faſt-days would be hurtful to a Soldier, in the literal Senſe of the Word, and deſtructive to the Intentions of all Armies; and I would as ſoon expect from them, that they ſhould turn Men into Trees or Stones, as that they ſhould inſpire them with martial Courage, or make them eager to fight. But skilful Politicians make an Advantage of every Thing, and often turn into uſeful Tools the ſeeming Obſtacles to their Ambition. The

moſt

moſt reſolute Unbeliever, if he is a good Hypocrite, may pretend to as much Superſtition and holy Fear, as the moſt timorous Bigot can be really poſſeſs'd with; and the Firſt often gains his Point by making uſe of the Religion of others, where the Latter is undone by being hamper'd with his own.

Hor. This was very evident in *Oliver Cromwel* and King *James* the Second. But what would you infer from it in Relation to Faſt-Days?

Cleo. The moſt ſacred Inſtitutions of Chriſtianity may, by the Aſſiſtance of pliable Divines, be made ſerviceable to the moſt antichriſtian Purpoſes of Tyrants and Uſurpers: Recollect, pray, what I have ſaid concerning Sermons and Prayers, and what is done by ſome Clergymen under Pretence of Preaching the Goſpel.

Hor. I do, and can eaſily ſee, how Preachers, by a ſmall Deviation from the Doctrine of Peace, may inſenſibly ſeduce their Hearers, and, perverting the End of their Function, ſet them on to Enmity, Hatred, and all Manner of Miſchief: But I can't underſtand how Faſting and Humiliation ſhould further, or be made any ways inſtrumental to that Deſign.

Cleo.

Cleo. You have allow'd, that the Grand Point in Armies, and what has been ever moſt labour'd among military Men, was to make them believe, that Heaven, that is, the Deity they adore, was of their Side; and it is certain, (as I have hinted before) that how widely ſoever Men have differ'd in their Sentiments concerning the inviſible Cauſe, or the Worſhip it requires, they have all agreed in this; and the Uſe that has been made of Religion in War has ever had a palpable Tendency this Way. The Word Faſting, indefinitely ſpoken, ſounds very harſhly to a Man of a good Stomach; but, as practis'd religiouſly among *Proteſtants*, it is hardly an Emblem of the Thing it ſelf, and rather a Joke than any grievous Penance: At leaſt in *England*, by keeping a Faſt-Day, Men mean no more, than Eating their Dinners three or four Hours later than they uſed to do, and perhaps no Supper that Night: Which is a Piece of Abſtinence, that is ſo far from being likely to have an ill Effect upon the Strength or Spirits of Men in Health and Vigour, that there is not One in Fifty, whom it will not render more briſk and lively the next Day. I ſpeak of People that are not in Want, and who, of dainty or courſer Fare, eat as

much every Day as their Appetite requires. As for Humiliation, it is a Word of Courſe. Faſt-Days, bar the Abſtinence already mention'd, are kept no otherwiſe, than the *Sunday* is. In the Army of the Rebels, the Chaplains perhaps preach'd and pray'd ſomewhat longer on thoſe Days, and read a few Chapters more in the Bible, than was uſual for them to do on a Sabbath-Day. But that was all.

Hor. But you have allow'd, that many of the *Roundheads* were ſincere in their Religion, and that moſt of the Soldiers, tho' they were bad Chriſtians, were ſtill Believers. It is unreaſonable to think, that the Solemnity of thoſe Days, and the continual Shew of Devotion they were ſpent in, ſhould have made no Impreſſion upon a conſiderable Part of ſuch a Multitude, as you your ſelf ſuppoſe their Army to have been. Where a great Number of the Vulgar, who believe Hell-Torments and Fire Everlaſting, are forced to hear, firſt their Lives laid open, and their Iniquities diſplay'd, and, after that, all the terrible Things, that the Parſon can ſay of Eternal Miſery, it is impoſſible, that many of them ſhould not be affected with Fear and Sorrow, at leaſt for that Time: However, this is beyond all Diſ-

pute

pute, that the mildeſt Remonſtrances that can be made on that Head, will ſooner diſpoſe Men to Melancholy, than they will to Chearfulneſs.

Cleo. All this while you take that for granted, which I told you long ago was notoriouſly falſe; *viz.* That in Camps and Armies, the plain Doctrine of *Chriſt* is delivered without Diſguiſe or Diſſimulation: Nay, I hinted to you juſt now, that if Repentance was preach'd among Military Men, as might be expected from Chriſtian Divines, Soldiers would be in Danger of being ſpoil'd by it, and render'd unfit for their Buſineſs. All knowing Clergymen, at firſt Setting out, ſuit themſelves and their Doctrine to the Occupations, as well as Capacities of their Hearers: And as Court Preachers ſpeak in Praiſe of the Government, and applaud the Meaſures of it, ſhade the Vices of Princes and their Favourites, and place their Merit in the handſomeſt Light it can be ſeen in; ſo Divines in Armies ſpeak up for the Juſtice of the Cauſe they are engaged in, and extol the Generals to the Skies; cajole and curry Favour with the Troops, and flatter more particularly the reſpective Regiments they belong to. There is not a Chaplain in an Army, who is not per-

fectly well acquainted with the Duty of a Soldier, and what is required of him. Therefore they preach Chriſtianity to them, as far as it is conſiſtent with that Duty, and no farther. Where they interfere, and are claſhing with one another, the Goſpel is ſet aſide. The Politician muſt have his Buſineſs done: Neceſſity is pleaded, and Religion ever made to give Way to the Urgency of Affairs. There is a vaſt Latitude in Preaching; and Clergymen often take great Liberties: Being as much ſubject to Errour and Paſſion as other People, they can give bad Counſel as well as good. Thoſe, who are pleas'd with a Government, we ſee, preach one way; and thoſe who are not, another. Above Half the Time of the laſt Reign, a conſiderable Part of the *Engliſh* Clergy exhorted their Hearers to Sedition, and a Contempt for the Royal Family, either openly or by ſly Inuendo's, in every Sermon they preach'd: And every Thirtieth of *January* the ſame Church furniſhes us with two contrary Doctrines: For whilſt the more prudent and moderate of the Clergy are ſhifting and trimming between two Parties, the hot ones of one ſide aſſert with Vehemence, that it is meritorious as well as lawful for the People, to put

their

their King to Death whenever he deſerves it; and that of this Demerit, the Majority of the ſame People are the only Judges. The Zealots on the other, are as poſitive, that Kings are not accountable for their Actions, but to God only; and that, whatever Enormities they may commit, it is a damnable Sin for Subjects to reſiſt them. And if an impartial Man, tho' he was the wiſeſt in the World, was to judge of the Monarch, whoſe unfortunate End is the common Topick of the Diſcourſes held on that Day, and he had no other Light to guide him, but the Sermons of both Parties, it would be impoſſible for him to decide, whether the Prince in Queſtion had been a ſpotleſs Saint, or the greateſt Tyrant. I name theſe obvious Facts, becauſe they are familiar Inſtances of our own Time, to convince us, that the Goſpel is no Clog which Divines think themſelves ſtrictly tied to. A ſkilful Preacher, whether it be a Faſt, or a Day of Rejoycing, always finds Ways to purſue his End, inſtills into his Hearers whatever he pleaſes, and never diſmiſſes an Audience, before he has acquainted them with what he would have them know; let the Subject, or the Occaſion he preaches upon, be what they

will. Beſides, an artful Orator may mention frightful Things without giving Uneaſineſs to his Hearers. He may ſet forth the Enormity of any great Sin, and the Certainty of the Puniſhment, that is to follow it. He may diſplay and dwell upon the Terrors of the Divine Vengeance for a conſiderable Time, and turn at laſt all the Weight of it upon their Adverſaries; and having demonſtrated to his Audience, that thoſe whom they are to fight againſt, or elſe the great Grandfathers of them, have been notoriouſly guilty of that Wickedneſs, which is ſo heinous in the Sight of Heaven, he may eaſily convince Believers, that their Enemies muſt of Neceſſity be likewiſe the Enemies of God. If any Diſgrace has happen'd to an Army, or ſome of the Men have misbehaved, a wary Preacher, inſtead of calling them Cowards, will lay all the Fault on their little Faith, their truſting too much to the Arm of Fleſh, and aſſure them, that they would have conquer'd, if they had put greater Confidence in God; and more entirely rely'd on his Aſſiſtance.

Hor. And ſo not have fought at all.

Cleo. The Coherence of theſe Things is never examin'd into. It is poſſible likewiſe for

a crafty Divine, in order to rouſe a liſtleſs and dejected Audience, firſt to awaken them with lively Images of the Torments of Hell and the State of Damnation, and afterwads ſeem happily to light on an Expedient, that ſhall create new Hopes, and revive the drooping Spirits of a Multitude; and by this Means the Courage of Soldiers may often be wrought up to a higher Pitch than it could have been rais'd, if they had not been terrify'd at all. I have heard of an Inſtance, where this was perform'd with great Succeſs. Proviſions had been ſcarce for ſome Time; the Enemy was juſt at Hand; and Abundance of the Men ſeem'd to have little Mind to fight; when a Preacher, much eſteem'd among the Soldiers, took the following Method: Firſt, he ſet faithfully before them their Sins and Wickedneſs, the many Warnings they had received to repent, and God's long Forbearance, as well as great Mercy, in not having totally deſtroy'd them long ago. He repreſented their Wants, and Scarcity of Proviſion, as a certain Token of the Divine Wrath, and ſhew'd them plainly, that labouring already under the Weight of his Diſpleaſure, they had no Reaſon to think, that God would connive longer at their manifold Neg-

lects and Tranſgreſſions. Having convinced them, that Heaven was angry with them, he enumerated many Calamities, which, he ſaid, would befal them; and ſeveral of them being ſuch, as they had actually to fear, he was hearken'd to as a Prophet. He then told them, that what they could ſuffer in this World, was of no great Moment, if they could but eſcape Eternal Puniſhment; but that of this (as they had lived) he ſaw not the leaſt Probability, they ſhould. Having ſhewn an extraordinary Concern for their deplorable Condition, and ſeeing many of them touch'd with Remorſe, and overwhelm'd with Sorrow, he chang'd his Note on a Sudden, and with an Air of Certainty told them, that there was ſtill one Way left, and but that one, to retrieve all, and avert the Miſeries they were threaten'd with; which, in ſhort, was to Fight well, and beat their Enemies; and that they had Nothing elſe for it. Having thus diſcloſed his Mind to them, with all the Appearances of Sincerity, he aſſumed a chearful Countenance, ſhew'd them the many Advantages, that would attend the Victory; aſſured them of it, if they would but exert themſelves; named the Times and Places in which they had behaved well, not without

without Exaggeration, and work'd upon their Pride ſo powerfully, that they took Courage, fought like Lions, and got the Day.

Hor A very good Story; and whether this was preaching the Goſpel or not, it was of great Uſe to that Army.

Cleo. It was ſo, politically ſpeaking. But to act ſuch a Part well, requires great Skill, and ought not to be attempted by an ordinary Orator; nor is it to be tried but in deſperate Caſes.

Hor. You have ſufficiently ſhewn, and I am ſatisfied, that as Faſting is practiſed, and Preaching and Praying may be managed by wary Divines, Care may be taken, that neither the Strictneſs of Behaviour obſerved, nor the Religious Exerciſes perform'd on thoſe Days, ſhall be the leaſt Hindrance to military Affairs, or any ways mortify or diſpirit the Soldiers; but I cannot ſee, what Good they can do where Religion is out of the Queſtion. What Service could an *Atheiſt*, who knew himſelf to be an Arch-Hypocrite and a Rebel (for ſuch you allow *Cromwell* to have been) expect from them for his Purpoſe?

Cleo. I thought, that we had agreed, that to pleaſe the Party he was engaged in, it was his

his Intereſt to make a great Shew of Piety among his Troops, and ſeem to be religious himſelf.

Hor. I grant it; as I do likewiſe, that he throve by Hypocriſy, raiſed Enthuſiaſm in others by Counterfeiting it himſelf, and that the Craft of his Clergy was many ways inſtrumental to his Succeſſes: But a ſkilful Hypocrite, and able Politician, would have made no more Rout about Religion, than there was Occaſion for. They had Praying and Singing of Pſalms every Day; and the Sabbath was kept with great Strictneſs. The Clergy of that Army had Opportunities enough to talk their Fill to the Soldiers, and harangue them on what Subject they pleaſed. They had ſuch a Plenty of Religious Exerciſes, that it is highly probable, the greateſt Part of the Soldiers were glutted with them: And if they were tired with what they had in Ordinary, what good Effect could be expected from ſtill more Devotion Extraordinary?

Cleo. What you named laſt is a great Matter. What is done every Day is ſoon turn'd into a Habit; and the more Men are accuſtomed to Things, the leſs they mind them; but any Thing extraordinary rouſes their Spirits

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and raiſes their Attention. But to form a clear Idea of the Uſe and Advantage, a mere Politician, tho' he is an Unbeliever, may reaſonably expect from Faſt-Days, let us take into Conſideration theſe two Things: Firſt, the Grand *Deſideratum* in Armies, that is aim'd at by Religion, and which all Generals labour to obtain by Means of their Clergy: Secondly, the common Notions among Chriſtians, both of Religion and of War. The Firſt is to perſuade the Soldiers, and make them firmly believe, that their Cauſe is Juſt, and that Heaven will certainly be on their Side; unleſs by their Offences they themſelves ſhould provoke it to be againſt them. All Prayers for Succeſs, Thankſgivings for Victories obtain'd, and Humiliations after Loſſes received, are ſo many different Means to ſtrengthen the Truth of that Perſuaſion, and confirm Men in the Belief of it. As to the Second, Chriſtians believe, that all Men are Sinners; that God is Juſt, and will puniſh, here or hereafter, all Treſpaſſes committed againſt him, unleſs they are atton'd for before we die; but that he is likewiſe very merciful, and ever willing to forgive thoſe, who ſincerely repent. And as to War, that it is, as all human Affairs are, entirely under his Direction,

rection, and that the Side whom he is pleaſed to favour, beats the other. This is the general Opinion, as well of thoſe who hold a Free-agency, as of thoſe who are for Predeſtination. A curſory View of theſe two Things, the Notions Men have of Providence and the Grand Point to be obtain'd in Armies, will give us a clear Idea of a Clergyman's Taſk among Military Men, and ſhew us both the Deſign of Faſt-Days, and the Effect they are like to produce.

Hor. The Deſign of them is to gain the Divine Favour and Aſſiſtance; that's plain enough; but how you are ſure, they will have that Effect, I can't ſee.

Cleo. You miſtake the Thing. The Politician may have no Thoughts of Heaven: The Effect I ſpeak of relates to the Soldiers; and is the Influence, which, in all Probability, Faſt-Days will have upon Believers, that aſſiſt in the keeping of them.

Hor. What Influence is that, pray, if it be not Religious?

Cleo. That they will inſpire, and fill the Men with freſh Hopes, that God will favour them and be of their Side. The Reputation of thoſe Days, that they avert the Di-

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vine Wrath, and are acceptable to Heaven, is, in a great Meaſure, the Cauſe, that they have this Influence upon the Men. The Heathens harbour'd the ſame Sentiments of their Publick Supplications; and it has been the Opinion of all Ages, that the more Solemn and Reſpectful the Addreſſes are, which Men put up to the Deity, and the greater the Numbers are that join in them, the more probable it is, that their Petitions ſhall be granted. It is poſſible therefore, that a Politician may appoint Extraordinary Days of Devotion, with no other View than to chear up the Soldier, revive his Hopes, and make him confident of Succeſs. Men are ready enough to flatter themſelves, and willing to believe, that Heaven is on their Side, whenever it is told them, tho' they have little Reaſon to think ſo. But then they are unſteady, and naturally prone to Superſtition, which often raiſes new Doubts and Fears in them. Therefore Common Soldiers are continually to be buoy'd up in the good Opinion they have of themſelves; and the Hopes they were made to conceive, ought often to be ſtirr'd up in them afreſh. The Benefit that accrues from thoſe Extraordinary Days of Devotion, and the Advantages expected

pected from them, are of longer Duration, than juſt the Time they are kept in. With a little Help of the Clergy, they are made to do Good when they are over; and two or three Days or a Week after, the Uſefulneſs of them is more conſpicuous than it was before. It is in the Power of the General, or any Government whatever, to have thoſe Days as ſtrictly kept, to outward Appearance, as they pleaſe. All Shops may be order'd to be ſhut, and Exerciſes of Devotion to be continued from Morning till Night; nothing ſuffer'd to be bought, or ſold during the Time of Divine Service, and all Labour as well as Diverſion be ſtrictly prohibited. This having been well executed makes an admirable Topick for a Preacher, when the Day is over, eſpecially among Military Men; and Nothing can furniſh a Divine with a finer Opportunity of commending, and highly praiſing his Audience, without Suſpicion of Flattery, than the Solemnity of ſuch a Day. He may ſet forth the outward Face of it in a lively Manner, expatiate on the various Decorums, and Religious Beauties of it, and by faithfully repreſenting what Every body remembers of it, gain Credit to every Thing he ſays beſides. He may magnify and

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ſafely enlarge on the Self-denial, that was practiſed on that Day; and, aſcribing to the Goodneſs and Piety of the Soldiers, what in his Heart he knows to have been altogether owing to Diſcipline, and the ſtrict Commands of the General, he may eaſily make them believe, that greater Godlineſs and a more general Humiliation never had been ſeen in an Army. If he has Wit, and is a Man of Parts, he'll find out Quaint *Similes*, Happy Turns, and Plauſible Arguments, to illuſtrate his Aſſertions, and give an Air of Truth to every Thing he advances. If it ſuits with the Times, he'll work himſelf up into Rapture and Enthuſiaſm, congratulate his Regiment, if not the whole Army, on the undeniable Proofs they have given of being good Chriſtians, and with Tears in his Eyes wiſh them Joy of their Converſion, and the infallible Tokens they have received of the Divine Mercy. If a grave Divine, of good Repute, acts this, as he ſhould do, with an artful Innocence and Chearfulneſs in his Countenance, it is incredible what an Effect it may have upon the greateſt part of a Multitude, amongſt whom Chriſtianity is not ſcoff'd at, and Pretences to Purity are in Faſhion. Thoſe who were any ways

ways devout on that Day, which he points at, or can but remember that they wiſh'd to be Godly, will ſwallow with Greedineſs whatever ſuch a Preacher delivers to them; and applauding every Sentence before it is quite finiſh'd, imagine, that in their Hearts they feel the Truth of every Word he utters. We are naturally ſo prone to think well of our Selves, that an artful Man, who is thought to be ſerious, and harangues a vulgar Audience, can hardly ſay any Thing in their Behalf, which they will not believe. One would imagine, that Men, who gave but little Heed to the Religious Exerciſes they aſſiſted at, could receive no great Comfort from their Reflection on that Day; ſuch, I mean, as were tired to Death with the Length of the Prayers, and almoſt ſlept as they ſtood the greateſt Part of the Sermon; yet many of theſe, hearing the Behaviour of the Army in General well ſpoken of, would be ſtupid enough to take Share in the Praiſe; and remembring the Uneaſineſs they felt, make a Merit of the very Fatigue they then bore with Impatience. Moſt of the Vulgar, that are not averſe to Religion, have a wild Notion of Debtor and Creditor betwen themſelves and Heaven. Natu-

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ral Gratitude teaches them, that ſome Returns muſt be due for the good Things they receive; and they look upon Divine Service as the only Payment they are able to make. Thouſands have made this Acknowledgment in their Hearts, that never after cared to think on the vaſt Debt they owed. But how careleſs and neglectful ſoever moſt of them may be in the Diſcharge of their Duty, yet they never forget to place to their Accounts, and magnify in their Minds, what little Time they ſpend, and the leaſt Trouble they are at in performing what can but ſeem to have any Relation to Religious Worſhip; and, what is aſtoniſhing, draw a Comfort from them by barely ſhutting their Eyes againſt the frightful Balance. Many of theſe are very well pleaſed with themſelves after a ſound Nap at Church, whoſe Conſciences would be leſs eaſy, if they had ſtay'd from it. Nay, ſo extenſive is the Uſefulneſs of thoſe Extraordinary Devotions, appointed by Authority, in Politicks only, that the moſt inattentive Wretch, and the greateſt Reprobate, that can be in ſuch an Army, may receive Benefit from them; and the Reflection on a Faſt-Day, may be an Advantage to him as a Soldier. For tho' he curſed the Chaplain in his Heart, for

preaching ſuch a tedious while as he did, and wiſh'd the General damn'd, by whoſe Order he was kept from Strong Liquor ſuch an unreaſonable Time; yet he recollects, that Nothing went forward but Acts of Devotion all the Day long; that every Sutler's Tent was ſhut; and that it was Six a Clock before he could get a Drop of Drink. Whilſt theſe Things are freſh in his Memory, it is hardly poſſible, that he ſhould ever think of the Enemy, of Battles, or of Sieges, without receiving real Comfort from what he remembers of that Day. It is incredible what a ſtrong Impreſſion the Face, the outward Appearance only of ſuch a Day, may make upon a looſe wicked Fellow, who hardly ever had a Religious Thought in his Life; and how powerfully the Remembrance of it may inſpire him with Courage and Confidence of Triumph, if he is not an Unbeliever.

Hor. I have not forgot what you ſaid Yeſterday of the obdurate Soldier; and I believe heartily, that the greateſt Rogue may build Hopes of Succeſs on the Devotion of others, whom he thinks to be Sincere.

Cleo. And if the bare outward Shew of ſuch a Day, can any ways affect the worſt of an Army, there

there is no Doubt, but the better Sort of them may get infinitely more Benefit by keeping it, and giving Attention to the greateſt Part of the Preaching and Praying that are perform'd upon it. And tho' in Camps, there are not many Men of real Probity, any more than in Courts; and Soldiers, who are ſincere in their Religion, and only miſled in the Duties of it, are very ſcarce; yet in moſt Multitudes, eſpecially of the ſober Party, there are ignorant Well-wiſhers to Religion, that, by proper Means, may be raiſed to Devotion for a Time, and of whom I have ſaid, that tho' they were bad Livers, they often deſired to repent; and would ſometimes actually ſet about it, if their Paſſions would let them. All theſe an artful Preacher may perſuade to any Thing, and do with them almoſt what he pleaſes. A bold Aſſurance of Victory, emphatically pronounc'd by a popular Preacher, has often been as little doubted of among ſuch, as if it had been a Voice from Heaven.

Hor. I now plainly ſee the vaſt Uſe that may be made of Faſt-Days, as well afterwards when they are over, as during the Time they are kept.

Cleo. The Days of Supplication among the Heathens, as I hinted before, were celebrated for the ſame Purpoſe; but their Arts to make People believe, that the Deity was on their Side, and Heaven eſpouſed their Cauſe, were very trifling in Compariſon to thoſe of Chriſtian Divines. When the *Pagan* Prieſts had told the People, that the Chickens had eat their Meat very well, and the Entrails of the Victim were ſound, and that the Reſt of the Omens were lucky, they had done, and were forced to leave the Belief of thoſe Things to the Soldiers. But ——

Hor. You need not to ſay any more, for I am convinced, and have now ſo clear an Idea of the Uſefulneſs of Extraordinary Devotions, and a great Shew of Piety, among military Men; I mean the Political Uſefulneſs of them, abſtract from all Thoughts of Religion; that I begin to think them neceſſary, and wonder, how great and wiſe Generals ever would or could do without them. For it is evident, that ſince the Prince of *Conde's* and *Cromwel's* Armies, ſuch a Shew of Godlineſs has not been ſeen among any regular Troops, in any conſiderable Body of Men. Why did not *Luxemburg*, King *William*, Prince

Prince *Eugene*, and the Duke of *Marlborough* follow thoſe great Examples, in modelling their Armies after a Manner that had bred ſuch good Soldiers?

Cleo. We are to conſider, that ſuch a Shew of Piety and outward Devotion, as we have been ſpeaking of, is not to be created and ſtarted up at once, nor indeed to be made practicable but among ſuch Troops as the *Huguenots* in *France*, and the *Roundheads* in *England* were. Their Quarrels with their Adverſaries were chiefly Religious; and the greateſt Complaints of the Malecontents in both Nations were made againſt the Eſtabliſh'd Church. They exclaim'd againſt the Ceremonies and Superſtition of it; the Lives of the Clergy, the Haughtineſs of the Prelates, and the little Care that was taken of Chriſtianity it ſelf and good Morals. People, who advance theſe Things, muſt be thought very inconſiſtent with themſelves, unleſs they are more upon their Guard, and lead ſtricter Lives than thoſe, whom they find Fault with. All Miniſters likewiſe, who pretend to diſſent from a Communion, muſt make a ſad Figure, unleſs they will reform, or at leaſt ſeem to reform every Thing they blame in their Adverſaries.

If you'll duely weigh what I have ſaid, you will find it impoſſible to have an Army, in which outward Godlineſs ſhall be ſo conſpicuous, as it was in the Prince of *Conde*'s or *Oliver Cromwel*'s, unleſs that Godlineſs ſuited with the Times.

Hor. What peculiar Conjuncture, pray, does that require.

Cleo. When a conſiderable Part of a Nation, for ſome End or other, ſeem to mend, and ſet up for Reformation; when Virtue and Sobriety are countenanced by many of the better Sort; and to appear Religious is made Faſhionable. Such was the Time in which *Cromwell* enter'd himſelf into the Parliament's Service. What he aim'd at firſt was Applauſe; and ſkilfully ſuiting himſelf in every Reſpect to the Spirit of his Party, he ſtudied Day and Night to gain the good Opinion of the Army. He would have done the ſame, if he had been on the other Side. The Chief Motive of all his Actions was Ambition, and what he wanted was immortal Fame. This End he ſteadily purſued: All his Faculties were made ſubſervient to it; and no Genius was ever more ſupple to his Intereſt. He could take Delight in being Juſt, Humane and Munificent, and with equal Pleaſure he could

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oppreſs, perſecute and plunder, if it ſerved his Purpoſe. In the moſt Treacherous Contrivance, to haſten the Execution of his blackeſt Deſign, he could counterfeit Enthuſiaſm, and ſeem to be a Saint. But the moſt enormous of his Crimes proceeded from no worſe Principle, than the beſt of his Atchievements. In the Midſt of his Villanies he was a Slave to Buſineſs; and the moſt diſintereſted Patriot never watch'd over the Publick Welfare, both at Home and Abroad, with greater Care and Aſſiduity, or retriev'd the fallen Credit of a Nation in leſs Time than this Uſurper: But all was for himſelf; and he never had a Thought on the Glory of *England*, before he had made it inſeparable from his own.

Hor. I don't wonder you dwell ſo long upon *Cromwell*, for Nothing can be more ſerviceable to your Syſtem, than his Life and Actions.

Cleo. You will pardon the Excurſion, when I own, that you have hit upon the Reaſon. What I intended to ſhew, when I ran away from my Subject, was, that able Politicians conſult the Humour of the Age, and the Conjuncture they live in, and that *Cromwell* made the moſt of his. I don't queſtion, but he would

have done the ſame, if he had been born three or four ſcore Years later. And if he had been to command an *Engliſh* Army abroad, when the Duke of *Marlborough* did, I am perſuaded, that he would ſooner have endeavoured to make all his Soldiers dancing Maſters, than he would have attempted to make them Bigots. There are more ways than one, to make People brave and obſtinate in Fighting. What in *Oliver*'s Days was intended by a Maſk of Religion and a Shew of Sanctity, is now aim'd at by the Height of Politeneſs, and a perpetual Attachment to the Principle of modern Honour. There is a Spirit of Gentility introduced among military Men, both Officers and Soldiers, of which there was yet little to be ſeen in the laſt Century, in any Part of *Europe*, and which now ſhines through all their Vices and Debaucheries.

Hor. This is a new Diſcovery; pray, what does it conſiſt in?

Cleo. Officers are leſs rough and boiſterous in their Manners, and not only more careful of themſelves, and their own Behaviour, but they likewiſe oblige and force their Men under ſevere Penalties to be Neat, and keep themſelves Clean: And a much greater Streſs is laid upon

upon this, than was Forty or Fifty Years ago.

Hor. I believe there is, and approve of it very much; white Garters are a vaſt Addition to a clever Fellow in Regimental Cloaths; but what mighty Matters can you expect from a Soldier's being obliged to be clean.

Cleo. I look upon it as a great Improvement in the Art of Flattery, and a finer Stratagem to raiſe the Paſſion of Self-liking in Men, than had been invented yet; for by this Means the Gratification of their Vanity is made Part of the Diſcipline; and their Pride muſt encreaſe in Proportion to the Strictneſs, with which they obſerve this Duty.

Hor. It may be of greater Weight than I can ſee at Preſent. But I have another Queſtion to aſk. The main Things, that in raiſing Troops, and making War, Politicians are ſolicitous about, and which they ſeem altogether to rely upon, are Money, great Numbers, Art and Diſcipline. I want to know, why Generals, who can have no Hopes, from the Age they live in, of thriving by Bigotry, ſhould yet put themſelves to ſuch an Expence, on Account of Religion in their Armies, as they all do. Why ſhould they pay for Preaching

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or Praying at all, if they laid no Streſs upon them?

Cleo. I never ſaid, that the great Generals, you nam'd, laid no Streſs on Preaching or Praying.

Hor. But Yeſterday, ſpeaking of the Gallantry of our Men in *Spain* and *Flanders*, you ſaid, that you *would as ſoon believe, that it was Witchcraft that made them Brave, as that it was their Religion.* You could mean Nothing elſe by this, than that, whatever it was, you was very ſure, it was not their Religion that made them Brave. How come you to be ſo very ſure of that?

Cleo. I judge from undeniable Facts, the looſe and wicked Lives, the Generality of them led, and the Courage and Intrepidity they ſhew'd on many Occaſions. For of Thouſands of them it was as evident as the Sun, that they were very Vicious, at the ſame Time that they were very Brave.

Hor. But they had Divine Service among them; every Regiment had a Chaplain; and Religion was certainly taken care of.

Cleo. It was, I know it; but not more than was abſolutely neceſſary to hinder the Vulgar from ſuſpecting, that Religion was neglected by

by their Superiours; which would be of dangerous Conſequence to all Governments There are no great Numbers of Men without Superſtition; and if it was to be tried, and the moſt skilful Unbelievers were to labour at it, with all imaginable Cunning and Induſtry, it would be altogether as impoſſible to get an Army of all *Atheiſts*, as it would be to have an Army of good Chriſtians. Therefore no Multitudes can be ſo univerſally wicked, that there ſhould not be ſome among them, upon whom the Suſpicion, I hinted at, would have a bad Effect. It is inconceiveable, how Wickedneſs, Ignorance, and Folly are often blended together. There are, among all Mobs, vicious Fellows, that boggle at no Sin; and whilſt they know Nothing to the Contrary, but that Divine Service is taken care of as it uſed to be, tho' they never come near it, are perfectly eaſy in their Evil Courſes, who yet would be extremely ſhock'd, ſhould Any body tell them ſeriouſly, that there was no Devil.

Hor. I have known ſuch my ſelf; and I ſee plainly, that the Uſe, which Politicians may make of Chriſtianity in Armies, is the ſame as ever was made of all other Religions on the ſame Occaſion, *viz.* That the Preiſts, who pre-

preſide over them, ſhould humour and make the moſt of the Natural Superſtition of all Multitudes, and take great Care, that on all Emergencies, the Fear of an inviſible Cauſe, which Every body is born with, ſhould never be turn'd againſt the Intereſt of thoſe, who employ them.

Cleo. It is certain, that Chriſtianity being once ſtript of the Severity of its Diſcipline, and its moſt eſſential Precepts, the Deſign of it may be ſo skilfully perverted from its real and original Scope, as to be made ſubſervient to any worldly End or Purpoſe, a Politician can have Occaſion for.

Hor. I love to hear you; and to ſhew you, that I have not been altogether inattentive, I believe I can repeat to you moſt of the Heads of your Diſcourſe, ſince you finiſh'd what you had to ſay concerning the Origin of Honour. You have proved to my Satisfaction, that no Preaching of the Goſpel, or ſtrict Adherence to the Precepts of it, will make Men good Soldiers, any more than they will make them good Painters, or any thing elſe the moſt remote from the Deſign of it. That good Chriſtians, ſtrictly ſpeaking, can never preſume or ſubmit to be Soldiers. That Clergymen

under

under Pretence of Preaching the Goſpel, by a ſmall Deviation from it, may eaſily miſguide their Hearers, and not only make them fight in a juſt Cauſe, and againſt the Enemies of their Country, but likewiſe incite them to civil Diſcord and all Manner of Miſchief. That by the Artifices of ſuch Divines, even honeſt and well-meaning Men have often been ſeduced from their Duty, and, tho' they were ſincere in their Religion, been made to act quite contrary to the Precepts of it. You have given me a full View of the Latitude, that may be taken in Preaching, by putting me in Mind of an undeniable Truth; *viz.* That in all the Quarrels among Chriſtians, there never yet was a Cauſe ſo bad, but, if it could find an Army to back it, there were always Clergymen ready to juſtify and maintain it. You have made it plain to me, that Divine Service and Religious Exerciſes may be ordered and ſtrictly enjoin'd with no other than Political Views; that by Preaching and Praying, bad Chriſtians may be inſpired with Hatred to their Enemies, and Confidence in the Divine Favour; that in order to obtain the Victory, Godlineſs and an outward Shew of Piety among Soldiers may be made ſerviceable to the greateſt Profligates,

who

who never join in Prayer, have no Thoughts of Religion, or ever aſſiſt at any Publick Worſhip, but by Compulſion and with Reluctancy; and that they may have this Effect in an Army, of which the General is an *Atheiſt*, moſt of the Clergy are Hypocrites, and the Generality of the Soldiers wicked Men. You have made it evident, that neither the *Huguenots* in *France*, nor the *Roundheads* in *England* could have been animated by the Spirit of Chriſtianity; and ſhewn me the true Reaſon, why Acts of Devotion were more frequent, and Religion ſeemingly more taken care of in both thoſe Armies, than otherwiſe is uſual among military Men.

Cleo. You have a good Memory.

Hor. I muſt have a very bad one, if I could not remember thus much. In all the Things I nam'd, I am very clear. The Solution likewiſe, which you have given of the Difficulty I propoſed this Afternoon, I have Nothing to object to; and I believe, that skilful Preachers conſult the Occupations as well as the Capacities of their Hearers; that therefore in Armies they always encourage and chear up their Audiences; and that whatever the Day or the Occaſion may be, upon which they

they harangue them, they ſeldom touch upon mortifying Truths, and take great Care never to leave them in a Melancholy Humour, or ſuch an Opinion of themſelves or their Affairs, as might lower their Spirits, or depreſs their Minds. I am likewiſe of your Opinion, as to artful Politicians; that they fall in with the Humour of their Party, and make the moſt of the Conjuncture they live in; and I believe, that, if *Cromwell* had been to Command the Duke of *Marlborough*'s Army, he would have taken quite other Meaſures, than he did in his own Time. Upon the whole, you have given me a clear Idea, and laid open to me the real Principle of that great wicked Man. I can now reconcile the Braveſt and moſt Gallant of his Atchievements, with his vileſt and the moſt treacherous of his Actions; and tracing every Thing, he did, from one and the ſame Motive, I can ſolve ſeveral Difficulties concerning his Character, that would be inexplicable, if that vaſt Genius had been govern'd by any Thing but his Ambition; and, if following the common Opinion, we ſuppoſe him to have been a Compound of a daring Villain and an Enthuſiaſtical Bigot.

Cleo.

Cleo. I am not a little proud of your Concurrence with me.

Hor. You have made out, with Perſpicuity, every Thing you have advanced both Yeſterday and to Day, concerning the Political Uſe, that may be made of Clergymen in War; but, after all, I can't ſee what Honour you have done to the Chriſtian Religion, which yet you ever ſeem ſtrenuouſly to contend for, whilſt you are treating every Thing elſe with the utmoſt Freedom. I am not prepared to reply to ſeveral Things, which, I know, you might anſwer: Therefore I deſire, that we may break off our Diſcourſe here. I will think on it, and wait on you in a few Days; for I ſhall long to be ſet to Rights in this Point.

Cleo. Whenever you pleaſe; and I will ſhew you, that no Diſcovery of the Craft, or Inſincerity of Men can ever bring any Diſhonour upon the Chriſtian Religion it ſelf, I mean the Doctrine of *Chriſt*, which can only be learn'd from the New Teſtament, where it will ever remain in its Purity and Luſtre.

FINIS.